

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Joint Editors { VICTOR BRANFORD  
ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON

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# THE POLITICAL REVIEW

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1841.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OVER THE  
LAND: by C. B. Fawcett, B.Litt., Reader in Geography,  
University of Leeds.

WE have all heard many recent assertions that this or that country, notably our own, is over populated; and in the opposite direction, assertions of the dangers of a restricted birth rate and the resulting check to the increase in our population. All these statements and discussions indicate that events have compelled many thinking people to realise something of the importance of the various problems involved in the distribution of man over the earth and his relations to the natural resources of its various regions. The problems of the distribution of population, in the widest sense, are among the principal subject matter of Human Geography.<sup>1</sup> Up to the present all studies of it are necessarily incomplete and tentative, since our knowledge of the numbers of the peoples and the resources of the lands is still very inadequate. Nevertheless, it seems worth while to attempt to state some of the chief facts bearing on the main problem as fully as possible, in spite of the wide margin of error in the available statistical material, and the many gaps in our knowledge of the earth's resources.<sup>2</sup>

THIS paper attempts to deal with only three of the main groups of factors relating to the problem of population:

FIRST: that of the magnitude and growth of the actual population of the world and the main features of its distribution over the lands.

SECOND: the factor which is the final limit to the increase of population, i.e., the food supply, and in particular the geographical conditions which affect this for the world as a whole.

THIRD: on the basis of the first two factors, I have attempted to estimate the population-capacity of the world on certain existing standards of production and consumption.

THE first question that arises is thus "What is the actual population of the world to-day?" Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer it with any great precision. In most of the countries of Western Civilisation, and in many of the other lands which they control, censuses have been taken under such conditions as to give fairly reliable results,<sup>3</sup> so that we can state the numbers of the peoples of

<sup>1</sup> e.g., Part I. of *PRINCIPES DE GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE*, by the late P. Vidal de la Blache, is devoted to this topic. Unfortunately, the study was not completed before the death of the author. See the posthumous work edited by E. de Martonne, Paris, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Because of these difficulties all the figures used in calculations here are rounded numbers, and none of the resulting estimates should be regarded as more than first approximations.

<sup>3</sup> Note that where most of the people can read and write, a census can be much fuller and more reliable than among an illiterate population, and nominally accurate censuses are not all equally reliable.

Europe and North America, of the countries of the south temperate zone, and of Japan and India with some approach to accuracy. But for the vast population of China, for nearly half of South and Central America, and for most of Africa and the East Indies we have only estimates of very varied value ; some of these estimates are based on partial censuses, while some are hardly more than guesses.

UNDER these circumstances, there is necessarily a considerable margin of error in all estimates of the world's population ; and interesting variations are shown in the following table of some of the more important recent estimates.

TABLE I. ESTIMATES OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION.<sup>4</sup>

Authority.	Date.	Population in Millions.
E. Levasseur	1908	1,626
Sir G. H. Knibbs	1914	1,649
Institut International de Statistique	1920	1,791
TIMES' ATLAS	1921	1,646
Institut International d'Agriculture	1921	1,820

If we omit the figures of the *TIMES' ATLAS*, the other estimates show a reasonably close approximation to each other in view of the dates to which they refer ; but the wide differences between the last two make it interesting to compare them in more detail. The common basis of stating the population of each continent separately is used by four of these authorities, but that of Sir George Knibbs is not directly comparable because it gives no such common basis. The second table compares these four :

<sup>4</sup> References : E. Levasseur, *LA REPARTITION DE LA RACE HUMAINE* in the *Bulletin de L'Institut International de Statistique*, XVIII. liv. ii., 1909, pp. 48-63. Sir G. H. Knibbs, *THE MATHEMATICAL THEORY OF POPULATION*—App. A. to the *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, Melbourne, 1917, p. 31. *THE TIMES' ATLAS*, London, 1922, figures on Plates 5 and 7. *INTERNATIONAL YEAR-BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1909-1921*, published 1922, Rome.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OVER THE LAND

TABLE II. POPULATIONS OF THE CONTINENTS (IN MILLIONS).

	Levasseur, 1908.	Institut International de Statistique, 1920.	TIMES' ATLAS, 1921.	Institut International d'Agriculture, 1921.
Europe	437	452	400	453
Asia	851	990	900	1,006
Africa	126	133	180	141
N. America	116	208	120	145
S. America	45		38	67
Oceania	51	8	8	8
Totals :	1,626	1,791	1,646	1,820

ON these figures we may note first that Levasseur counted the Malay Islands in Oceania, while the others count them as part of Asia. Next, the second and fourth columns were compiled in 1921-2 and had the advantage of the results of more of the post-war censuses taken in 1920 and 1921 ; while the TIMES' ATLAS figures seem to be mainly based on pre-war censuses with estimates of changes during and after the war. In Europe and North America the chief areas of uncertainty are Russia and Mexico respectively. In Asia, the whole difference may be accounted for by various estimates of the population of China. Against the very wide divergences as to South America, I note that the total of the populations of South American countries given in the STATESMAN'S YEAR BOOK for 1924 is 63 millions. To illustrate the uncertainty of estimates of the numbers of barbarian peoples we may note the considerable differences in the estimates of the total population of Africa, and that estimates of the population of the Belgian Congo have varied from 30 millions down to 8 millions.<sup>5</sup>

THE next table (III.) states some of the more recent estimates of the population of China, to illustrate the differences in regard to the principal area of doubt in estimating the total population of the earth.

THE Census of 1910, which was the basis of the estimate of 1911 and perhaps also for that of the TIMES' ATLAS, was a census of households not of individuals, and the multiplying factor by which the number of individuals was obtained—the assumed average number of persons per household—was not the same all over the country and is open to doubt. The general agreement of the more recent estimates on the higher figure leads me to accept the value of over 400 millions for the purpose of this paper. And this, together with the figure of

<sup>5</sup> E. M. East, MANKIND AT THE CROSS-ROADS, London, 1924, p. 100. Levasseur, op. cit. gives 20 millions. Philips' HANDY VOLUME REFERENCE ATLAS, edited by E. G. Ravenstein, gives 16 millions in 1900 and 20 millions in 1913. ANNUAIRE DE LA BELGIQUE ET DU CONGO BELGE, 1914, gives 15 millions. THE STATESMAN'S YEAR BOOK, 1924, gives 8½ millions.

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

60 millions for South America, gives a total of approximately 1,800 millions for the present population of the world. This seems as nearly accurate as it is possible to be on the available information. It is probably within ten per cent. of the true figure.

TABLE III. POPULATION OF CHINA AND MANCHURIA.<sup>6</sup>

Date.	Authority.	Population in Millions.	Note.
1911	GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, Peking	315	
1922	Chinese Maritime Customs	443	
1922	Chinese Post Office	433	Excluding part of Manchuria
1910	Minchingpeng Census	324	
1920	Chinese Post Office	428	
1920	Ta Chen	375	Excluding Sze Chwan
1918	China Continuation Committee	441	
1921	TIMES' ATLAS	321	Including all Chinese Territories

THE experience of the countries of Western Civilisation during the last few generations has accustomed us to the conception of a continually increasing population. Let us look at a few of the facts of this modern increase.

FROM 1801 to 1921 the population of England and Wales multiplied more than fourfold<sup>7</sup> in spite of a considerable emigration. Since 1800 the total population of Europe has increased from about 175 millions<sup>8</sup> to 450 millions, in spite of the emigration of not less than

<sup>6</sup> The first three estimates are from THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1924; the next two from the CHINA YEAR-BOOK, 1922. The sixth is quoted from an abstract in THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, January, 1925, p. 144; and the seventh from Professor P. M. Roxby's article on THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN CHINA, in the same pp. 1-24. The last figure is on Plate 7 of the Atlas.

<sup>7</sup> From 9 millions to 38 millions. (Figures from THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1924. All population figures for which no other reference is given are from this book.)

<sup>8</sup> Estimate of Levasseur, op. cit. (note 4).

40 million people.\* Under specially favourable conditions some smaller populations have increased at an amazing speed. The French Canadians now number  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions, practically all of whom are descended from the 5,800 immigrants who reached Canada before 1680.<sup>10</sup> This gives a six hundred fold increase in two hundred and forty years—a rate of expansion made possible only by the abundance of virgin land open to settlement.

FOR the first decade of this century the mean rate of increase of population in the countries which have regular censuses was 1.159 per cent. per annum.<sup>11</sup> At this rate the numbers would be doubled in 60.1 years. If this had been the average rate of increase during the past, the whole of the present population of the world would be descended from one couple living near the end of the first century A.D. If it could be maintained in the future, then by 2925 A.D., only a thousand years from to-day, the earth would have about 250 billions ( $25 \times 10$ )<sup>12</sup> of inhabitants—considerably more than one person to each square yard of land. These calculations make it quite obvious that the present average rates of increase among the civilised peoples are far greater than those which existed in the past, and that such a rate of increase cannot be maintained for any considerable period. Evidently we are living in a period of exceptionally rapid increase of population. This appears to be due mainly to the reduction of the formerly normal death rates. But a study of the rates of increase shows clearly that we are approaching the end of that period, since the birth rate is likewise tending to diminish in all civilised countries. While in the past the direct check to too rapid an increase in numbers has usually been the existence of a high death rate, and in particular of high rates of infant mortality, it is now attributable in part to a fall in the birth rate. Mankind is now able to choose which of these two checks shall be applied; but one of them must be. And if the rapid increase in numbers is not checked by conscious human action, the appeal will be to the ancient trinity of "War, Pestilence and Famine." For the surface of the earth is incapable of expansion and its resources, though great and capable of fuller utilisation, are limited.

BEFORE going further, it is worth while to note very briefly the conditions which made it possible for the European peoples to expand at so great a rate during the 19th century. Evidently these conditions affected the English-speaking peoples to a greater extent than any others; for their numbers have increased nearly eightfold since the

\* To U.S.A. alone more than 33 millions, according to F. J. Warne in *ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE*, January, 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Figures are from the article by G. E. Marquis (p. 7) in the volume on *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN CANADA* published as *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1923.

<sup>11</sup> Sir G. H. Knibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 31.



beginning of last century and they now form more than a fourth of all the peoples of European descent, whereas in 1800 they were less than one-eighth. Also it is clear that this particular expansion is chiefly due to the peopling of North America, since that continent now includes nearly two-thirds of the Englishry,<sup>12</sup> whereas it contained only a fifth of them in 1800.<sup>13</sup> These facts indicate that the growth may be ascribed chiefly to the occupation of what were the empty lands of North America. The growth began with the Industrial Revolution, when the applications of mechanical power increased production and led to an increase of population in the industrial areas. The increased demand for food was at first met by a more intense cultivation of the homeland; but the insufficiency of this source of food was demonstrated in the "Hungry Forties" of last century. The pressure of a hungry people removed the fiscal barriers which had hindered access to other food-producing lands, while the improvements in transport made the virgin lands west of the Appalachians accessible; and the population of Britain multiplied on a food supply obtained from overseas. It was of course only a temporary supply; since North America must cease to export any very large quantities of food as soon as its own population needs all its home-grown food. And there is little likelihood of the discovery of another "New World" to allow another such expansion of numbers; for even if success in overcoming the parasitic and other diseases which hinder the cultivation of the fertile lands of the Hot Belt should be more rapid than it is reasonable to expect, those areas are much less in proportion to the present possibilities of expansion than the temperate lands of the New World were at the beginning of the 19th century expansion of the European peoples.

THE direct limiting factor in the growth of population is that of the food supply; and since Man must obtain practically the whole of his food supply from the land,<sup>14</sup> the next important questions in this study are "What is the extent of the available land?" and "How

<sup>12</sup> I have often felt the need of a convenient word to replace the phrase "English-speaking peoples" and allow one to refer concisely to this important group of mankind: and here I suggest the word "Englishry."

<sup>13</sup> Populations of the English-speaking countries (whites only) in millions.

1801	British Isles	15.9	1921	British Isles	47.2	} 55.3
1800	U.S.A.	4.3		Australasia	6.6	
1801	Canada (English)	0.1		South Africa	1.5	
			1920	U.S.A.	94.8	} 101.4
			1921	Canada (English) and Newfound- land	6.6	
Total			Total			156.7

<sup>14</sup> It is not possible to determine with any precision what amount or proportion of food is obtained from the sea. But this does not affect the value of any of our estimates as to population capacity, since these supplies are included in the resources of the existing population on which those estimates are based.

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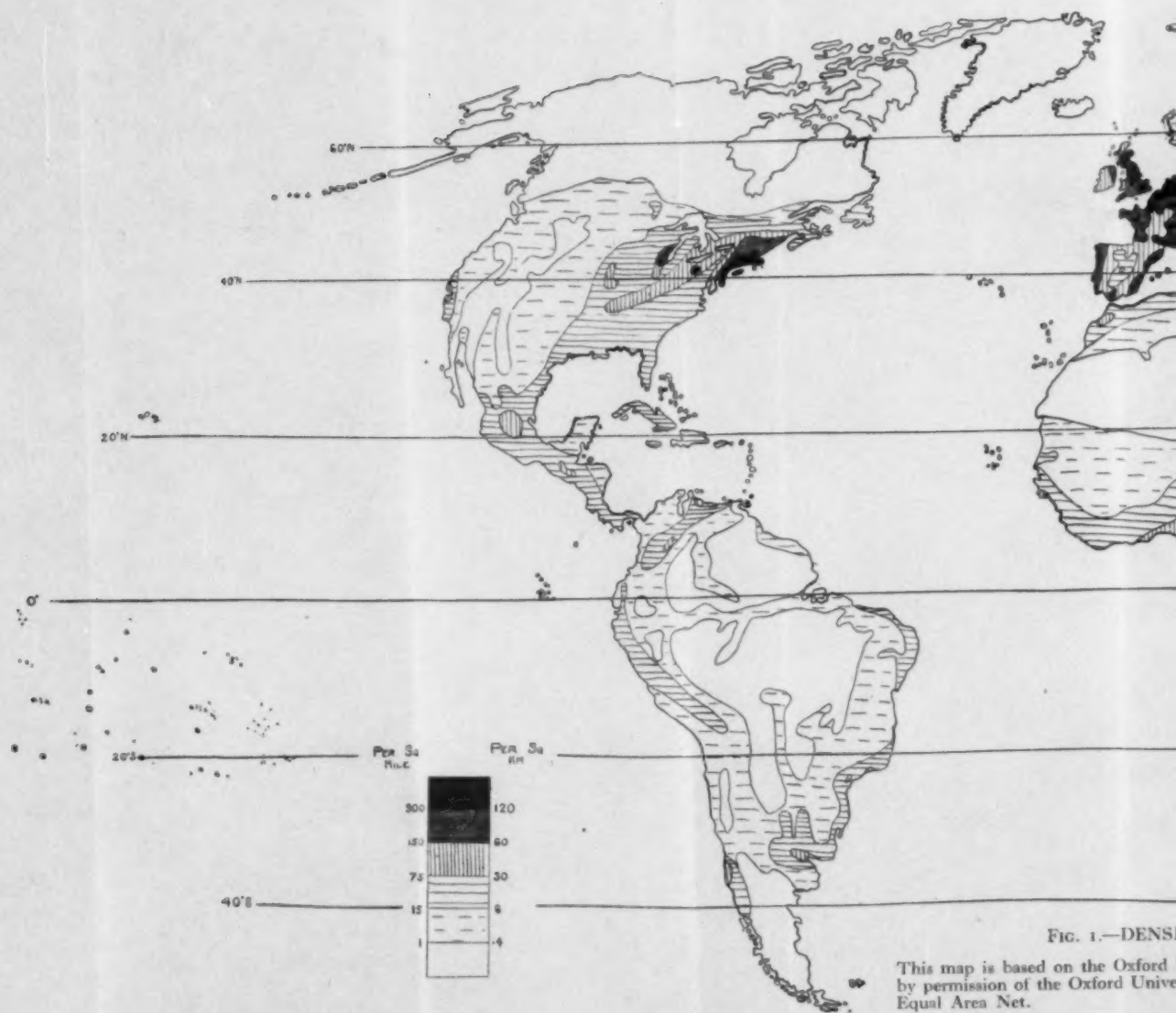
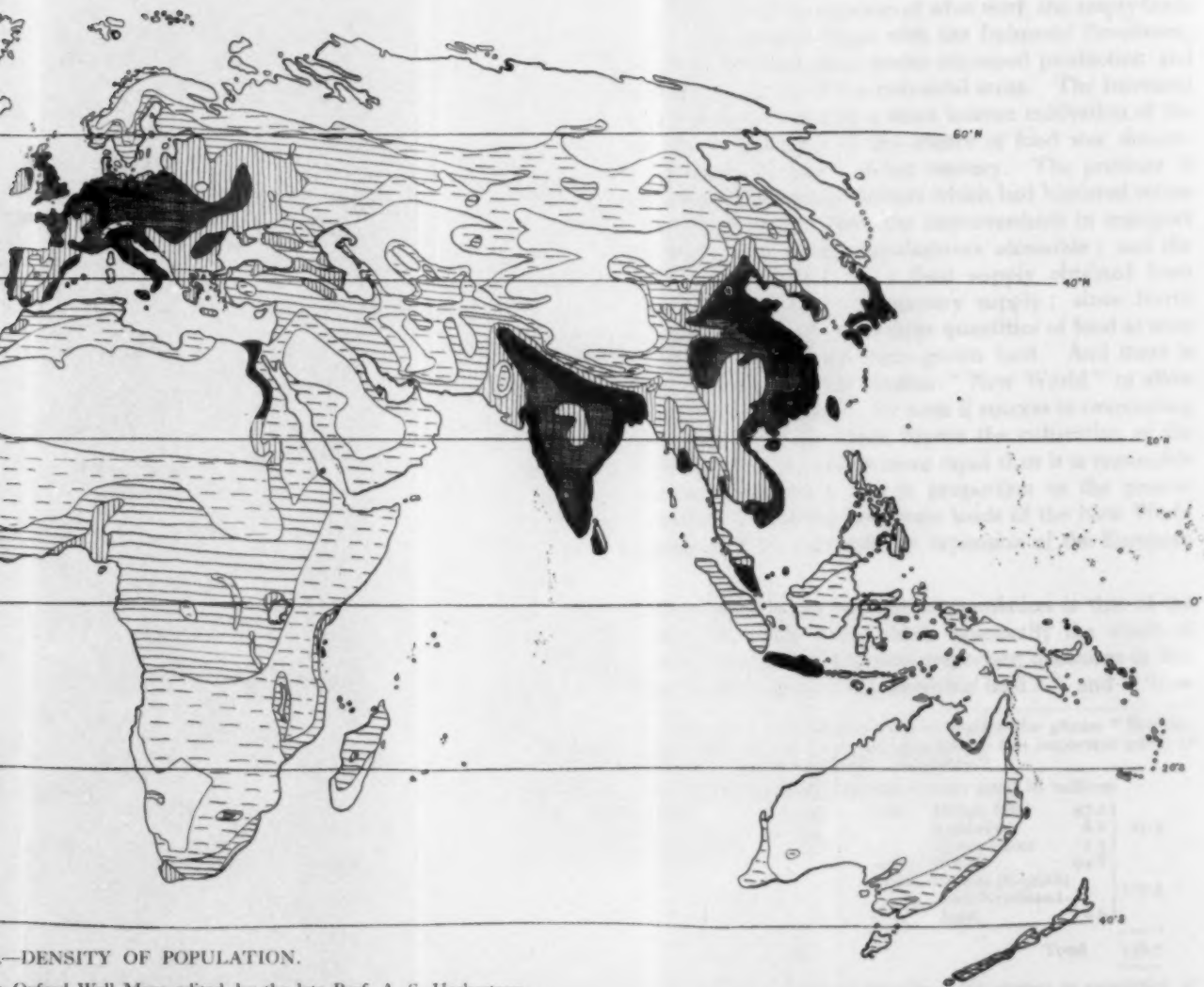


FIG. 1.—DENSITY

This map is based on the Oxford  
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—DENSITY OF POPULATION.

the Oxford Wall Maps edited by the late Prof. A. S. Herbertson,  
Oxford University Press. All three maps are drawn on Mollweide's

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much of this land is capable of being used for the support of mankind by the production of materials for food, shelter and tools, wherewith to satisfy human needs ? ”

THE area of the lands outside the Polar Regions is known to a fair degree of accuracy ; and, omitting Antarctica and the permanently ice-bound lands in the North Polar Sea, the total area of the available land is, in round numbers, 50 million square miles.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the average density of population is nearly 36 persons per square mile, a figure which may be of some interest as a basis for comparisons ; though in fact the density varies very widely and mankind is distributed very unevenly over the land surface.

Of the total of 1,800 million people, the greater part live in three comparatively small regions of particularly favourable environment (Fig. 1). In the north-west of the “ Old World ” the populous area of Europe is limited on the north by the parallel of 60° N. lat. and the upper course of the River Volga, on the east by the lower courses of the rivers Volga and Don and the steppes of Asia Minor, and on the south by the eastern half of the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara Desert.<sup>16</sup> This region contains some 450 million people on a little less than three million square miles of land. In the “ Far East ” the similarly populous region which includes most of China and Manchuria, the Japanese Empire south of 40° N. lat., and Tongking, is occupied by a slightly larger population on an area of two million square miles. While in India and Ceylon, between the Thar Desert and the eastern edge of Bengal, there are nearly 300 million people on little more than half that area. Thus in these three regions there are crowded together two-thirds of the world’s population on one-eighth of the available land.

THERE is a fourth region of the same type in eastern North America which is comparable in extent and natural resources to “ Europe ” and the “ Far East ” and probably has no less capacity for population. But since it has been accessible to civilised men for only a few generations, it is not yet fully occupied and carries only the comparatively small population of about a hundred millions.

ELSEWHERE on the earth there are no similarly large masses of dense population, though the island of Java is as densely peopled as England, and Nigeria has nearly fifty inhabitants per square mile. In other regions there are a few dense clusters on small areas round large cities,

<sup>15</sup> Omitting the ice-bound lands referred to, the available lands cover an area of 48½ million square miles (figures from map measurements). The use of 50 million as the convenient round number is therefore an exaggeration of the earth’s resources. All the areas of the various zones, &c., given in this paper are from measurements on the M.S. maps, of which those reproduced are reductions.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the “ real Europe ” of Sir Halford Mackinder. See pp. 159 and 160, and Fig. 28 of his *DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND REALITY*, Constable, London, 1919.



especially in Australia and South America; but outside the four important regions which have been noted the remaining six-sevenths of the available land is very thinly peopled.

THE next matter for consideration is that of the reasons for this, at first sight peculiar, distribution. Three-fourths of mankind dwell in the Old World, by which I mean that part of the earth which has been accessible to civilised men during all the historic period, in contrast to the "New" World which has been similarly accessible only since the Age of Discovery at the beginning of the 16th century. The Old World, as so defined, consists of Asia, Europe, and Africa north of the Sahara and includes nearly half of the available land. In this vast area the population is in fact distributed in general accordance with the food-producing capacity of the various regions, as measured by the climatic conditions. The fertile areas are densely peopled—in some cases probably over peopled under existing conditions—the barren lands are comparatively empty. All the oases of the deserts are, or have been, occupied, and many of them are crowded. By a process of trial and error, which has already extended over many centuries, men have succeeded in establishing themselves in all the parts of these lands which can be made to provide sustenance. And though the knowledge and equipment gained by Western Civilisation in the last few centuries has made it possible to utilise lands which could not be occupied by civilised men before, as for instance in Siberia, yet the general adjustment of population to natural resources in the Old World is the best guide to the possibilities of maintaining any comparable masses of population in the newer lands of the Earth.

THE chief factors which determine the possible food production of any given region are those of heat, moisture, soil fertility, and the amount and skill of the labour applied to cultivation. In practice the productivity is a resultant of these factors; but for convenience and clearness it is necessary to study them separately. I propose to consider the first three briefly, and to make only passing reference to the fourth.

THE heat, and light, received from the sun is essential to life on the earth, and it is, both in quantity and in distribution, entirely outside human control. It is thus a primary limiting factor in the production of food. In considering this factor in productivity we may regard first the mean temperature of the growing season in the chief zones of the earth. This is shown to a first approximation on the accompanying map (Fig. 2). The northern and southern areas left white are those in which the growing season is neither warm enough nor long enough to allow of the ripening of even the hardiest of our cultivated plants: there are less than eight weeks in which the mean temperature reaches  $10^{\circ}\text{C}$ . ( $50^{\circ}\text{F}$ .). Hence in these regions no agriculture is



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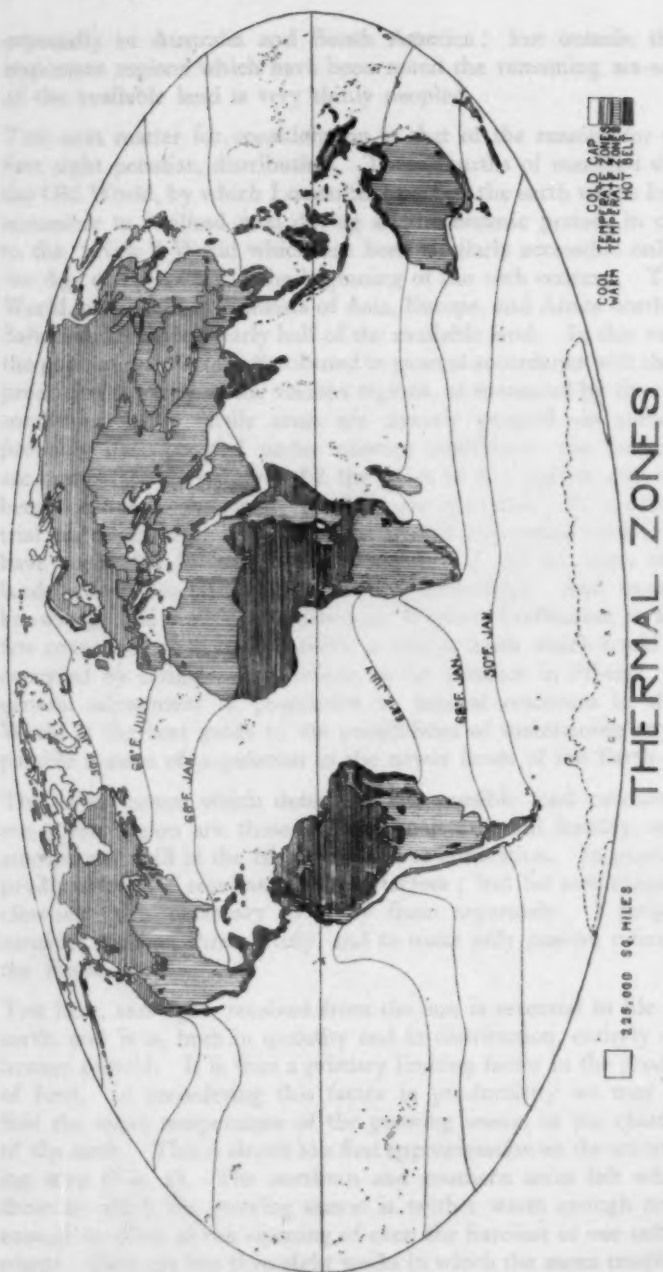


FIG. 2.—This map is drawn using surface isotherms, based on the maps of the Meteorological Atlas and those of the late Prof. Herbertson in the Oxford Series.

possible; and they can supply food only from the herds of reindeer or musk oxen which may find there a scanty pasturage,<sup>17</sup> or from their waters. These inhospitable regions of the Northern Hemisphere are in fact extended well to the southward of the line marked, by the frequency of frost in summer nights; since exposure to such frosts puts a limit to the northward extension of agriculture (e.g., wheat-growing in Canada) sooner than does the fall in the mean summer temperature. This limiting factor of insufficient heat thus excludes more than three million square miles, or 6 per cent. of the accessible land, from the area which can produce any considerable amount of food.

At the other extreme are the lands marked as within the Hot Belt. This I define as that part of the earth where the mean temperature does not fall below  $20^{\circ}\text{C}$ . ( $68^{\circ}\text{F}$ .) in any month. Here the temperatures favour active vegetable growth all the year round and, where water is plentiful and the soils good, the Hot Belt is the region of maximum vegetable growth. It occupies nearly a quarter of the accessible lands; but parts of it have insufficient rainfall and a large proportion has very poor soils. In fact the Hot Belt is in general thinly peopled since it contains less than a sixth of the World's inhabitants. The actual distribution of population in this belt gives little guidance to its capacity for supporting inhabitants. The only parts of it which have been long accessible to civilised men are those to the south and south-east of Asia; and here South India and Java are populous lands; while neighbouring areas of apparently equal opportunity in Borneo, Sumatra and even Ceylon, are comparatively thinly peopled.

BETWEEN these less favourable zones lie the Intermediate Regions, subdivided into the Warm Temperate and Cool Temperate Zones, which I have here marked off from each other by the isothermal line of  $20^{\circ}\text{C}$ . ( $68^{\circ}\text{F}$ .) for the hottest month: so that the lands of the Warm Temperate Zone have hot summers. They have also in general a much longer growing season than those of the Cool Temperate Regions. This important distinction may for our present purposes be expressed by saying that the Warm Temperate Lands can generally (water and soil permitting) produce two, or in very favourable circumstances even three or four, crops each year; while the Cool Temperate Lands can very rarely obtain more than one crop in the same time. The length of the growing season is thus a prime factor in the productivity of these regions; while their most characteristic feature—the regular alternation of summer and winter seasons—has been and still is a dominant factor in all human activity.

<sup>17</sup> On the possibilities of the tundra for animal rearing see V. Stefansson's optimistic works, *THE FRIENDLY ARCTIC*, London, Macmillan, 1921, and *THE NORTHWARD COURSE OF EMPIRE*, London, Harrap, 1922.

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

THE temperate regions as here defined cover two-thirds of the accessible lands and contain nearly five-sixths of the world's population.

THE following table (IV.) shows the distribution of the accessible lands among the thermal zones referred to here.

TABLE IV. AREAS OF LAND IN THE CHIEF THERMAL ZONES (IN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES).

	Northern Hemisphere.	Southern Hemisphere.	Totals.
Cold (Tundra)	2.3	0.5	2.8
Cool Temperate	12.3	0.6	12.9
Warm Temperate	14.3	6.9	21.2
Hot	11.3		11.3

THE physical fact next in importance to the supply of heat (and sunlight) is that of moisture, since water is also essential to life. The amount and seasonal distribution of the rainfall is as much beyond human control as that of the solar radiations.<sup>18</sup> But to a small extent man can influence the distribution of the water on the surface of the land by means of irrigation systems. And by such means he can obtain very considerable increases in the productivity of small areas, where other conditions are favourable.

IN studying the relation of rainfall to the productivity of any land it is necessary to take into account the three factors of its quantity, its seasonal distribution, and the amount of evaporation, which is mainly dependent on the temperature, as well as in smaller areas the permeability of the rocks on which it falls.<sup>19</sup> Here the lack of space will allow us only to mention the most important of these. Over the greater part of the earth, the maximum rainfall is in summer, i.e., in the warmer half of the year, the chief exception being west coast regions more than 30° from the equator, which receive most of their rain in winter. Other things being equal summer rains are more

<sup>18</sup> For discussion of possibilities of increasing the rainfall of semi-arid lands see the work of E. T. Quayle in Australia (note on pp. 193-6 of Vol. XVI. of REPORT OF AUSTRALASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, 1923), and E. H. L. Schwarz in South Africa (see his book, THE KALAHARI : OR THIRSTLAND REDEMPTION. Miller, Capetown, n.d.).

<sup>19</sup> There is also a real difference in value between equal quantities of rain falling as (a) the torrential storms characteristic of semi-arid regions or (b) the gentle showers of the humid cool temperate lands.

# SWINE AND PIGS

1900



The following table shows the number of swine and pigs in the various countries of the world in 1900. The figures are given in thousands of head.

1900

The temperate regions of the world cover two-thirds of the available lands and contain more than half of the world's population.

The subtropical (IV) zone contains 10% of the available lands and contains 10% of the world's population.

TABLE IV. The distribution of the world's population and the distribution of the world's available lands.

Zone	Population	Available Lands
I. Subtropical	10%	10%
II. Temperate	50%	60%
III. Subtropical	10%	10%
IV. Subtropical	10%	10%

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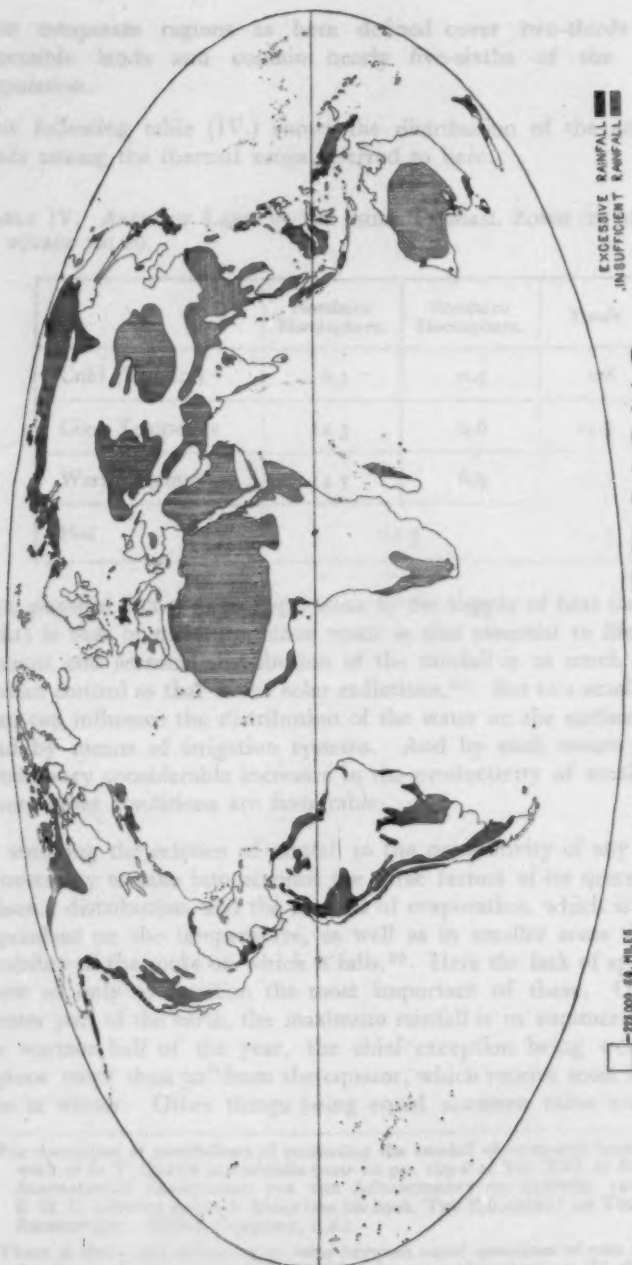
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TABLE IV. The distribution of the world's population and the distribution of the world's available lands.

The temperate regions of the world cover two-thirds of the available lands and contain more than half of the world's population.



RAINFALL REGIONS

FIG. 3.

favourable to plant growth than winter rains—a fact whose influence can be traced on the population map of the Old World.

PROBABLY every one realises that insufficiency of rain is a handicap to vegetable growth, and therefore to the productivity of the land for man; so that we can write off the arid deserts as unproductive land without discussion. But it is not so generally realised that an excessive rainfall, particularly where it is also a constant rainfall, i.e. where there is no dry season, is also a serious hindrance to successful cultivation of our chief food plants. The chief illustration of this fact known to most of us is probably that of the "Congested Districts" of Ireland, where the present distress is due directly to the excessive rain and accompanying lack of sunshine of the past two years. On the world population map the densely forested areas of constant heavy equatorial rains are comparatively empty areas. The Amazon Basin has hardly more people than the Sahara Desert or the Siberian tundra. The wet jungle-clad mountainous areas of Indo-China and Assam maintain only a scanty barbarous population, which is in strong contrast to the dense masses of people on the lowlands of India and China, between which they lie.

In asking what rainfall is best suited to human needs we raise a very difficult problem. But bearing in mind that local variations in relief and in rock structure, and the season at which the rain falls, may be of great importance, especially in the marginal cases near to excess or deficiency, I venture to put forward the following scale. It is related mainly to the conditions of cultivation of the cereal foods of Western Civilisation, and is based on studies of the distribution of cultivated land.

#### RAINFALL is excessive

IN Cool Temperate Lands if more than 40 inches per year.

„ Warm	„	„	60	„	„
„ Hot	„	„	80	„	„

#### RAINFALL is insufficient

IN Cool Temperate Lands if less than 8 „ „

„ Warm	„	„	12	„	„
„ Hot	„	„	18	„	„

THE accompanying map (Fig. 3) is drawn on this basis to indicate the areas of land which have excessive, moderate and insufficient rain respectively. Measurement on the map gives us the following figures for these areas :



TABLE V. RAINFALL AREAS (IN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES).

	Excessive.	Moderate.	Insufficient. <sup>20</sup>
Cold (Tundra)	—	1.5	1.3
Cool Temperate	.6	10.3	2.0
Warm Temperate	1.9	11.3	8.0
Hot	1.3	7.9	2.1
Totals	3.8	31.0	13.4

These figures can, in the present state of geographical knowledge, be no more than first approximations ; but they have a value as forming a basis for an estimate of the extent of the productive land of the earth in relation to this vital factor of moisture.<sup>21</sup>

IN respect to the third great natural factor in productivity, the soil, our knowledge is even more inadequate. So far as I am aware there is no exhaustive soil survey for any considerable region, although preliminary traverses, and surveys for small areas, have been made in many parts of Europe and North America.<sup>22</sup> Hence any estimates of the proportion of the land, in regions of favourable climate, which can be regarded as fertile must be based mainly on indirect evidence, such as that of the areas actually under cultivation in different years in the old countries or on the distribution of natural vegetation in lands not yet fully occupied.

SOME writers have held that the soil, unlike the distribution of heat or sunshine or rain, is or may be brought entirely under man's control ; or in other words, that man can within fairly wide limits make the soil what he likes.<sup>23</sup> It is true that on small areas of market-gardening (or truck-farming) the cultivated soil has been practically " made " by repeated heavy manuring and the addition of other materials. But

<sup>20</sup> This total for " dry " areas is 27.6 per cent. of the available land surface. Compare H. Wagner's measurements of the areas of Köppen's " desert " and " steppe " climates at 27.5 per cent. of the land. (See Petermann's MITTEILUNGEN, Oct.-Nov., 1921, p. 216.)

<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that the areas of excessive rain are usually also areas of rugged relief ; and that in the temperate lands the steepness of the slopes makes these generally uncultivable. Hence these areas are not counted here as uncultivable because of excess of rain since to do so would be to count them twice over. In many of them, as e.g. in South China, the Valley Bottoms are sheltered from excess of rain and are often fertile and cultivable.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g., A REPORT ON THE AGRICULTURE AND SOILS OF KENT, SURREY AND SUSSEX, by A. D. Hall and E. J. Russell, published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1911 ; and publications of the U.S.A. Department of Agriculture, and corresponding departments in Canada, notably in the Prairie Provinces.

<sup>23</sup> This optimistic view is well put by the late Prince Kropotkin in his book, *FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS* : Nelson, London, several editions, first in 1898. Against it we may note Professor Roxby's evidence (op. cit.) that the poor soil areas of the populous plains of China are still barren and empty of population, in spite of the pressure of an overcrowded population of skilled agriculturists.

this has been done only at the cost of enormous amounts of labour and there is no prospect at the present day of its being practicable to obtain and apply to agricultural land in general the quantities of material or labour necessary for such developments. Of course it is clear that an increasing population can supply an increasing amount of labour to produce its food. But it is also true that an increase in the amount of labour (and capital) so applied does not, on land already well cultivated, produce a correspondingly large increase in the crops ; or in other words that the labour-cost of the food produced tends to increase as the cultivation becomes more intensive—a change which must necessarily tend to lower the standard of living of the people concerned.

IN an attempt to estimate the amount of "good," i.e., cultivable, land on the earth, I propose to follow up the figures already given by some of those from "old" countries for which we have reasonably reliable records.<sup>24</sup> For thirteen countries of Europe, west of Russia, south of the Baltic, and north of the Pyrenees, Alps and Balkan Mountains, i.e., wholly within the region of favourable climatic conditions, the result is that 90 per cent. of the area is returned as "productive" land, and of this 40 per cent. is actually cultivated, 36 per cent. is under grass (meadow and pasture), 19 per cent. is under woods and forests, and 5 per cent. is classed as marsh, heath, fallow or put to other uses. The corresponding figures for British India are :—76 per cent. productive, of which 56 per cent. is under cultivation, 24 per cent. under grass, 18 per cent. forest and 2 per cent. put to other uses. The land under grass is not further subdivided ; it includes large areas of rough grazing land, such as the mountain and hill pastures of our own country ; it also includes many rich meadows and improved pasture lands. I propose to assume that half of it can be regarded as cultivable land. Wood is a necessary article and it is not likely that the area under forests can be usefully diminished. If we calculate, on these figures and the assumption just mentioned, what proportion of the total land surface of the two areas is cultivable, we obtain for Central and West Europe 52.2 per cent., and for British India 51.0 per cent., a little over half in each case.

For the United States we have the careful studies made by officers of the Federal Department of Agriculture.<sup>25</sup> According to these only some 40 per cent. of the area of the continental United States can ever be used for crop production. For Canada, the northern half of which

<sup>24</sup> Unless otherwise specified the following figures are from the YEAR-BOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR AGRICULTURE, 1922, and are means for the period 1910-1921.

<sup>25</sup> See the Year Books for 1922 and 1923 ; and the separate (No. 896) from that for 1923, on THE UTILISATION OF OUR LAND FOR CROPS, PASTURES AND FORESTS. See also the article on LAND UTILISATION IN THE UNITED STATES, by Dr. O. E. Baker in the GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, January, 1923, Vol. XIII., pp. 1-26.

is either tundra or liable to summer frosts, the corresponding figure is probably below 20 per cent.<sup>26</sup> While it would be very optimistic to class more than 20 per cent. of Australia as good land.<sup>27</sup> In Japan approximately 15 per cent. of the area is cultivated, and the hopeful estimate of the late Professor King gives only 21 per cent. as cultivable; while he estimates that less than half the area of China and Korea is cultivable.<sup>28</sup> Apart from these countries there is a valuable preliminary study of Africa from this point of view by Drs. Schantz and Marbutt,<sup>29</sup> who estimate that not more than 50 per cent. of Africa can be classed as good land. In view of the fact that Africa contains the Sahara and Kalahari deserts this seems a fairly high proportion.

ON the basis of all these figures we may make a tentative preliminary estimate of the amount of "good" land in the world. The total area of what we have called the accessible, or available, land is somewhat less than 50 million square miles. Of this more than 3 million square miles is too cold (see back p. 94), and over 13 million square miles is too dry; thus leaving only two-thirds of the land with sufficient heat and moisture for cultivation. If the proportion of cultivable land in other areas of favourable climate is similar to that in British India and the part of Europe for which we have given figures (which seems a reasonable assumption) then only a third of the land can be classed as cultivable. This result is supported by the proportions of 40 per cent. and 20 per cent. for the United States and Canada respectively, which indicate that rather less than a third of North America can be regarded as good land; for there is no reason to suppose that North America is worse off in this respect than the other continents.

HENCE, I assume in the rest of this paper that about one-third of the available land, or 16 million square miles, is the amount of "good" or "cultivable" land on the earth, including the area which is too wet for our ordinary cereal crops; while another third may be classed as "productive" but not cultivable, and the last third is occupied by the deserts (cold and dry).

<sup>26</sup> Dr. C. V. Corless gives 15 per cent., quoted by B. Neilly on p. 102 of volume on CANADA by American Academy of Social and Political Science already referred to. (Note 10). Mark Jefferson, in a note in his RECENT COLONISATION IN CHILE (American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 6) estimates it at 13½ per cent.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g., Griffith Taylor on GEOGRAPHY AND AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL PROBLEMS, in Vol. XVI. of Reports of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923; and the writer's review of it in the GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL, October, 1924. The TIMES' ANNUAL SURVEY OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE, published February 10th, 1925, estimates that only 10 per cent. of the area of Australia is suitable for wheat growing.

<sup>28</sup> F. H. King, FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES. Madison, Wis., 1911.

<sup>29</sup> H. L. Schantz and C. F. Marbutt: THE VEGETATION AND SOILS OF AFRICA, American Geographical Society, Research Series, No. 13, 1923.

THE productive but uncultivable third of the land is mainly divided between areas of forest and poor grazing land, such as our own mountain and hill pasture and the semi-arid "range" or "bush" of North America and Australia. The wetter areas of this "productive" but not "cultivable" land are often suitable for forest; and so are some considerable areas on the margins of the tundra, where the hardier conifers can grow although the lack of sufficient summer heat prohibits agriculture. The world needs large supplies of timber, and it is not probable that such poor land in the temperate zones can be put to much better use. In fact it might well be a real economy to plant forests on most of the poor grazing land where there is enough rainfall for tree growth; even though such a change might reduce the supplies of wool and meat. The semi-arid regions and the summer pastures of the tundra and the high mountains are likely to remain grazing lands, the last refuges of pastoralism on a crowded earth.

THE wet forested lands of the Hot Belt, which are included in the cultivable land of our estimate, offer the chief possibilities of a considerable extension of the cultivated land. Everyone who has studied the matter must have been impressed by the contrast between the conditions in the island of Java, which supports a population as dense as that of England and also exports large quantities of vegetable produce, and the uncultivated wastes of forest and savana which occupy the greater part of the Hot Lands. A few other small tracts of these lands are relatively well-cultivated and populous, as in parts of the African Lakes Region, the Benue Valley of Nigeria, and some parts of Upper Guinea. In South America there seem to be no correspondingly populous patches, and yet the vast Amazon lowland, whose soils are probably for the most part alluvial, is a region extraordinarily favourable to vegetable life,<sup>30</sup> and the Guianas (British, Dutch and French), which are almost wholly in the region of equatorial forest, are the least populous political units. Here the chief obstacles to cultivation appear to be (a) the combination of heat and humidity which forms a most enervating climate, (b) the very marshy character of much of the region, which is "deltaic" in origin and can only be reclaimed for cultivation by a great expenditure of labour, (c) the density of the jungle and the very rapidity of plant growth, (d) the scarcity of labour and (e) the lack of any immediate incentive strong enough to induce any civilised people to attempt the task of colonising in this region.

<sup>30</sup> Its nearest homologue is the lower part of the Ganges lowland in Bihar and Bengal, one of the most populous lands of the world. The important differences between these two regions, so nearly alike in structure and soils, seem to be first the more constant heat and rain of the Amazon, and second the contrast of locations. The Ganges Valley is near one of the earliest homes of civilisation, and that of the Amazon is isolated in the New World.

It is significant that the chief crops which are now under cultivation in the Hot Belt are broadly divisible into two distinct categories. The one includes the trees or shrubs of the "plantations" whose produce forms a "money crop" for export to the populous lands of the temperate regions, such as tea, coffee, rubber, bananas, oil-palms. These are usually grown on well-drained slopes in the hilly areas. The other consists of local food plants such as the rice, and associated annuals, of the wet irrigated flat lands of the deltas and valley bottoms of the East Indies.

UP to the present the efforts of European and North American planters in the Hot Lands have been directed mainly to the first group of products and therefore to areas of considerable relief, and their plantations and habitations generally avoid the wet and marshy lowlands. Only incidentally, through the growth of a local food supply for their workpeople, have they developed cultivation of the second type, as in the rice fields of the Guiana coast. Yet the experience of the planters has sufficed to show the nature of many of the obstacles to be overcome in bringing the fertile lands of the Hot Belt under cultivation; and it justifies the prediction that these lands will only be reclaimed for man at the cost of enormous amounts of labour and under great economic pressure. The peoples of the temperate regions are not likely to migrate to the Hot Belt in any considerable numbers so long as they can find space in the more attractive lands of their own climatic zones; and hence man's effective conquest of the equatorial regions will be postponed until necessity drives him to the task.

IN respect to the utilisation of the wetter parts of the "productive" and "cultivable" lands for food production, we should note that this would be greatly facilitated by a change of diet in the direction of using a larger proportion of fruits and nuts, which are tree-products obtainable from wet regions suited to forest, in place of part of the cereals, which are grass-products obtainable from regions of moderate rainfall, and meat, which is indirectly also a grass-product.<sup>31</sup>

IN discussing the numbers of the people who can be supported on the world's resources, which we may call its "population capacity," we are in fact studying the possibilities of the food supply. There are three possible sets of conditions on which we may base estimates.

FIRST, we may assume that the principal foods, and the methods of producing them will remain much as they are to-day, and that the increase in supplies will only be that due to raising the standards of cultivation in backward areas, using improved strains of food plants, and making full use of all the cultivable land.

<sup>31</sup> Compare in this relation Professor Russell Smith's book, *THE WORLD'S FOOD RESOURCES*. Williams & Norgate, London, 1919.



SECONDLY, we may make the additional assumption that man will, in the near future, overcome the difficulties of cultivation in the wetter regions of the Hot Belt, and add those regions to his area of cultivated land.

THIRDLY, we may guess at more or less speculative advances in the developments of science applied to agricultural production, which may enable man to increase his food supply to a large extent.

ALSO we must bear in mind that the number of people who can be maintained at any given standard of production will vary inversely with their standard of consumption and so with the height of their standards of living. And it is a possibility, perhaps even in view of the present decline in the birth rate a probability, that the civilised peoples may prefer to check their increase rather than accept a lower standard of living. For the struggle to raise that standard, or to prevent any fall in it, is the principal cause of social unrest at the present time.

ON the first assumption that the present methods of food production will be extended, but not greatly modified, I propose to calculate the world's population capacity on the bases of France and British India. These countries are chosen because

(a) both of them ordinarily produce all their own requirements in the staple foods.

(b) both are "old" lands and are fully peopled under present conditions.

(c) reasonably reliable statistics are available for both, and

(d) they offer a contrast in type of climate and have different staple food plants.

FRANCE is, I believe, a fair instance of conditions in one of the old countries of Europe which is still, under normal conditions, self-supporting in respect to her necessary food-stuffs. And the standards of living of the French are probably a little above the average of those of the rest of Europe. In France no less than 90 per cent. of the land is classed as "productive," and half of it as cultivated. The density of the population is approximately 200 persons per "productive" square mile and 360 per cultivated square mile. On this basis the 16 million cultivable square miles of the world would be able to produce food for 5,760 million people, or rather more than three times the present population—a number which, at the rate of growth of the first decade of this century,<sup>22</sup> would be reached in little more than a century. It is true that the standards of production in France are in some respects lower than those of other countries in North-West Europe,<sup>23</sup> which however import considerable amounts of fertilisers

<sup>22</sup> See back p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> Compère Morel, in No. 6 of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN Commercial Supplements on RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE, August 17th, 1922, gives the following figures of production, in quintals per hectare:

	France	Germany.	Denmark.	Belgium.
Grain Crops	- 12.5	21.6	23.9	25.2
Potatoes	- 80.6	307	296	514

or fodder, so that the French population is not an absolute maximum for the food-producing capacity of France.

IN British India the mean density of population per cultivated square mile is about 500, so that on the standards of India the world might maintain 8,000 million people. This number is not so much greater than the former one as might have been expected. It indicates incidentally that, if allowance is made for the lesser demand of the Indian for clothing and shelter as a result of his warmer climate, the real standards of living bear similar relations to the agricultural productivity in both countries.<sup>34</sup>

BUT it should be remembered that in bad years neither France nor India is able to produce all the food required by her people. This winter France is buying wheat abroad to make up the deficiency due to the bad harvest of 1924, and a failure of the monsoon rains still means famine in large parts of India; so that their peoples have not a sufficient margin for safety in bad years. Evidently if the whole world were peopled up to its full normal capacity on these standards of production and consumption of food, it would in fact be overpeopled; and the surplus population would be periodically removed by famine.

THIS first assumption of the continuance of present methods and standards of production and consumption, with only slight modifications, is that made in the calculations of the United States Department of Agriculture.<sup>35</sup> And here I will quote two sentences from Dr. O. E. Baker's article stating some of the conclusions.<sup>36</sup> First, "We (i.e., the people of the United States) have reached the stage in our agricultural development when there is practically no more potential agricultural land left unutilised that does not involve unprofitable expense for reclamation or clearing." Second, "The United States is near, possibly past, the crest of greatest average income per capita and every increment in population is likely to increase the complaint of the high cost of living." The standards of living in the United States are undoubtedly higher than those of France or India; the mean density of population is a little less than 90 persons per cultivable square mile, less than a quarter of that of either of those countries, yet it seems that on its present standards of cultivation and consumption the United States is full of people;<sup>37</sup> though of course it

<sup>34</sup> Just after writing this I saw, in THE TIMES of February 7th, 1925, a report of a paper on the Indian Population by Mr. J. T. Marten, read at the Royal Society of Arts, in which it is maintained that the standard of living of the peasantry of the Punjab is distinctly above that of a large portion of the peasantry of Southern and Eastern Europe.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* (Note 25).

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 25), pp. 1 and 26.

<sup>37</sup> In 1914 there was on balance an import of food-stuffs.



has a wide margin for both reduction of consumption and increase of food production before its standards of living fall so low as those of the older countries.

OUR second assumption is that the pressure due to an increasing population and a falling standard of living will compel mankind to utilise all the cultivable lands of the Hot Belt at least as fully as those of some small areas in it are now used. On this assumption that portion of the 16 million square miles we have classed as cultivable land which lies in the Hot Belt, about a quarter of it, or 4 million square miles, might be capable of producing food<sup>38</sup> for a population as dense as that of Java. That island maintains 35 million people on 50,000 square miles of land, of which 59 per cent. is cultivable; so that the density per cultivable square mile is nearly 1,200—more than twice that of British India. Thus if we take India as our basis for the temperate lands and Java for the Hot Lands the possible population becomes 10,800 million—a total which would be reached at the present rate of increase in a little more than 150 years.

IN relation to the third assumption we should note the existence of such views as those put forward by the late Prince Kropotkin<sup>39</sup> who could see no limit to the productivity of the land and claimed that the food production of England, and other countries, could be easily doubled by the application of intensive methods of cultivation. Such an increase would, however, more than double the labour costs of the products and so tend to lower the standard of living. It is no doubt true that agricultural productivity can be increased by such expenditure of labour and capital; but I know of no data sufficient to justify even approximate calculations of the limits of such production.

IN another direction Dr. J. B. S. Haldane has recently produced a stimulating prophecy of coming biological inventions,<sup>40</sup> which include the production of a fertilizer incomparably more effective than any yet known. Such an invention would, in relation to the population capacity of the world, have effects similar to those of the 19th century development of the New World. It is worth while to mention the possibility to remind ourselves that all such calculations as those made in this paper are necessarily based on existing conditions and might be as completely upset by such a discovery, as the estimates of the 18th century that it would take five or six centuries for the population

<sup>38</sup> It may be well to note that possibilities of transport of perishable food are likely to increase, and such an increased amount of food might be available to feed people in temperate lands so long as their economic and military power enabled them to take it.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 23).

<sup>40</sup> J. B. S. Haldane, *DAEDALUS: OR SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE*. Kegan Paul, London, 1924.

of England to double<sup>41</sup> were upset by the advances of the next century. Nevertheless any such introduction of new factors would do no more than postpone the real problem of population, which rests on the facts that the extent and resources of the earth are limited and that this places a certain, if unknown, limit to the increase of mankind. It is not likely that the population can ever approach that limit, since long before it is reached the increase in numbers will involve either a conscious restriction of births or such a fall in the standards of living as to produce a death rate sufficiently high to check further increases.

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<sup>41</sup> See H. Wright, *POPULATION*, Vol. V. of *Cambridge Economic Handbooks*, Cambridge, 1923; references on pp. 13 and 17.

## RELIGION AND PRIMITIVE CULTURE.

### I. THE RELIGION OF THE HUNTER.

DURING the last seventy years the study of primitive religion has made enormous progress. From a euhemeristic theorising on the mythology of the civilised peoples of antiquity we have passed to the scientific study of the beliefs and religious practices of all the existing primitive peoples of the earth, and in the light of the new anthropological method our knowledge of ancient society and religion has been reconstituted, and it has even been possible in some measure to recreate the psychic life of primitive and prehistoric society.

AND the new knowledge is far from lessening the historic importance of religion, or from circumscribing its zone of influence in space or time. The deeper we delve, the more evident it is how inseparable is the religious instinct from human life and society. The beginnings of religion are as old as the human consciousness, and we can no more go behind the religious stage in human history than we can go behind the origins of language or of social life itself.

THIS, however, presupposes a broader definition of Religion, than that which it has sometimes received. It cannot be said if, with Sir James Frazer, we limit Religion to the conciliation and worship of supernatural and personal beings which control the forces of nature. Even Tyler's "minimum" definition "the belief in spiritual Beings" is too narrow, for primitive religion is something vaguer and more rudimentary even than the type of thought to which these definitions properly refer. Yet we can go back behind this stage and still find Religion—a powerful and living Religion—existing. Wherever and whenever man has a sense of dependence on external powers which are conceived as mysterious and higher than man's own, there is Religion, and the feelings of awe and self-abasement with which man is filled in the presence of such powers is essentially a religious emotion, the root of worship and prayer.

TAKEN in this sense the religious instinct is part of the nature of man, the eternal child, who retains through life the child's sense of weakness and impotence, and the child's trust and clinging to a strength that is greater than his own. It involves both affection and fear, and its power is strongest at times of individual or social crisis, when the routine of ordinary life is broken through and men are face to face with the unforeseen and the unknown. Hence the moments of vital change in the life of the individual—birth, puberty and death—are pre-eminently religious, and so, too, for a society that lives in close dependence on nature, are the vital moments of the life of the earth, spring and winter, seed-time and harvest, the yearly death and rebirth of nature.

AND no less important for religion are the times of internal stress, whether individual or social, when men are forced to leave the old ways to which they are habituated and to launch out on a new course of thought and action: times such as the Indians of the Plains experienced, when the bison, by which they lived, were driven off the prairies,<sup>1</sup> or such as the Greeks knew when the City State began to pass away before the coming of the world empires. But apart from exceptional crises such as these, man feels the need even in normal times to recur to the help of outside powers and to bring his ordinary life—his “secular” or “profane” existence—into contact with and under the sanctions of that other world of mysterious and “sacred” potencies, whose action he always conceives as the ultimate and fundamental law of life.

HENCE throughout the history of the human race the religious impulse has been always and everywhere present as one of the great permanent forces that makes and alters man's destiny. It is of course possible for men to repress and restrain it, but as with other instincts, it is certain, if thwarted, to find some equivalent or compensatory outlet, often, as we shall see, with disastrous results for society. It is true that not all cultures or all periods have given an equal place to religion. As a rule the greater the element of material security and control over the natural and social environment, the less striking is the importance of the religious impulse. Thus China is often pointed to as an example of a great historic culture which is mainly non-religious. It must be remembered, however, that in China the filial relation is preserved throughout life, and even after the death of the parent, with such intensity that it tends to absorb the religious instinct, and to be in fact the working religion of the Chinaman. And on the other hand, it is largely this lack of religion, in the wider sense of the word, during recent centuries, that is responsible for the complete stagnation of Chinese culture and its failure to deal with new problems and opportunities, and also for the contrast between the integrity and efficiency of the Chinaman in his private and individual relations, and his corruption and inefficiency in politics and public life. However, the case of China is admittedly exceptional. In the majority of the higher cultures the action of the religious impulse is just as evident as it is among the more rudimentary ones, although in consequence of a development of thousands of years, it has become intellectualized and introverted—separated from an immediate relation with the sensible world.

ON the other hand the more primitive is Man, the more directly is his religious experience related to his external surroundings. He has not learnt, like civilised man, to disassociate Appearance and Reality,

<sup>1</sup> This was the origin of the great wave of religious excitement, known as the Ghost Dance Religion, which resulted in the Sioux war of 1890.

or to look on the natural world as a passive material system—a background for man's energies, mere matter for the human mind to mould. On the contrary, he saw Nature as a living complex of mysterious forces greater than his own, in the service and placation of which his whole life consisted. But when we come to the question of how he conceived these powers and how he adapted his life to them we are necessarily dependent on our positive knowledge of his general culture and the specific conditions of his existence. Many attempts—some of them brilliant enough—have been made to reconstruct the whole course of man's social and religious development from the very dawn of humanity, but in the present state of our knowledge these are incapable of proof or disproof, and we must admit that the problem of human origins is still a mystery. It is impossible to reconstruct man's early social organisation, and still more his psychic developments from eoliths or even coups-de-poings or from the rare fossil remains—such as those of Piltdown man—whose very physical interpretation is uncertain. It is only in the middle and later palæolithic stages, i.e., in relatively recent times, that the remains are sufficiently numerous and varied to warrant some deductions as to man's psychic or religious development. Then at least in several interments of the Mousterian period, notably at La Chapelle aux Saintes and at La Ferassie, there is evidence that the disposal of the dead was accompanied with practices which point to the belief in some existence in or beyond the tomb. The very fact that a careful interment is made, suggests some thought for the welfare of the dead, but far more important is the presence with the corpse of weapons and implements, of food offerings, and in one case of a rhinoceros horn which, from later palæolithic evidence, seems to have possessed some magical significance. Moreover, at La Ferassie, the large block of stone which covered the bones was found on its removal to be covered with artificial cup-markings such as are found on sacred stones in neolithic and later times.

HERE, then, in Mousterian times and in association with the Neanderthal type of man which has no direct connections with its successors, do we find the first evidence of practices and beliefs that can be called religious. It is, however, clearly impossible to argue from this evidence that the origins of religion are to be looked for in the cult of the dead. Our knowledge of the Mousterian culture is too fragmentary for us to form any general ideas about Mousterian religion and its relation to social life. This only becomes possible in the later palæolithic period, when a flood of light is thrown on prehistoric culture by the art of the Magdalenian cave paintings and the Aurignacian figure sculptures and bone engravings as well as by the human remains and the objects associated with interments. From these it is possible to form a picture of the culture of the later palæolithic

inhabitants of Europe—the external conditions of their life and their mental reaction to their environment—which is capable of being compared in its main features with that of existing peoples of primitive type, such as the Bushmen of Africa and the Australian aborigines, and in some respects with even more advanced peoples, such as the hunting peoples of North America.

It is, however, a very controversial question whether it is possible to regard modern "savages" as representative of truly primitive conditions. For on the one hand it has been held that the most backward existing peoples (as for example the Australians) are practically unchanged survivals of prehistoric culture—social fossils from an extremely remote past which we can use to reconstruct the social and intellectual life of our prehistoric forerunners in Europe; while on the other hand, it is believed by an increasingly numerous school that the so-called primitive peoples owe the greater part of their social and religious institutions to the influence of civilising currents transmitted in earlier times by the ancient historic cultures. Certainly it is impossible to deny the extremely primitive character of the Australian and Papuo-Melanesian peoples—or at least of one strain in them. The skulls found at Wadjak in Java and at Talgai in Queensland point to the development of a separate human type in Australasia, which has some affinities to the Neanderthal type and which appears to be the direct ancestor of the Australian race. Thus the modern Australians represent a more "palæoanthropic" type than anything to be found elsewhere. It would, therefore, not be surprising that the more primitive anthropological type preserves a correspondingly primitive type of culture and religion—perhaps even a lower type than that already possessed by the large-brained and talented men of the later palæolithic age in Europe. Yet there are insuperable difficulties in the way of the view upheld by some writers that Australia is the original home and centre of diffusion of Totemism and all that it stands for. The fact that Totemism extends from West Africa to North America and was one of the constituent elements in predynastic Egyptian culture is fatal to the claims of Australia and appears rather to favour the idea of some prehistoric wave of cultural influence, starting perhaps in North Africa and gradually extending by South Arabia and India to South Eastern Asia and Oceania. It is difficult, however, to believe (with Prof. Elliot Smith and his school) that this diffusion was due to the influence of the historic Egyptians. Totemism in Egypt bears all the marks of a survival from a far earlier type of culture. It belongs essentially not to the archaic kingdom with its mastery of agriculture and irrigation but to the hunting tribe, the society that lives in complete dependence on the life of untamed nature. It would be an amazing paradox, if the most characteristic institution of the religion-culture of the hunters and the food gatherers



had come to them at second hand from the agriculturists and traders of the archaic culture. It seems preferable to suppose that it formed part of a distinct culture-complex which was developed by hunting peoples, perhaps, in North Africa or Western Europe during the latter palæolithic period<sup>2</sup> and was subsequently diffused through the world by racial movements, and by culture transference, existing even to this day wherever the conditions of life remain similar to those under which it was produced, but overlaid by accretions and modifications due to the influence of later cultures.

THE remarkable resemblances of the different "hunting cultures" of North America and Siberia, of Australia and South Africa with that of palæolithic Europe are too great to be fortuitous. Underlying them all there is a common religious foundation, a common attitude to life, which is the key to the interpretation of the culture and which we may name "the Religion of the Hunter," and which if not primitive in the strict sense of the word is at least the earliest human religion of which we have knowledge.

FOR the Primitive peoples belonging to the hunting culture are in no sense pre-religious or a-religious. They are on the contrary more religious than the peoples of the higher cultures, since the essential religion attitude—the sense of dependence on mysterious external powers—is stronger with them than it is in the case of civilised societies. The culture-peoples even at their lowest have conquered a certain autonomy and security against the external world. Nature is to them partly external and foreign—the forest and the jungle as against the village and the field—partly conquered and harnessed as in the case of the domesticated animal and the artificially raised crop. But the hunter lives always in a state of utter dependence on Nature, such as we cannot conceive. Nature is always and everywhere his mistress and mother, and he is a parasite living on her bounty through her elder and wiser and stronger children, the beasts. Hence the religion of the primitive hunter is characterised by universality and vagueness. He does not single out particular Powers of nature to be divinised and worshipped as do the men of the archaic civilisations, nor is he, strictly speaking, an animist, who looks on every manifestation of nature as the work of individual personal spirits. He is rather a kind of primitive pantheist or "hekastotheist," as Powell calls him, who sees everywhere behind the outward appearance of things a vague undifferentiated supernatural power which shows itself alike in beast and plant, in storm and thunder, in rock and tree, in the magic of the shaman and in the spirits of the dead. This is the type of religion which Prof. Marett first described as Pre-Animism, and to which M. Durkheim

<sup>2</sup> The rock paintings that exist near Raigarh in the Central Province and also in the Kaimur Hills, which Prof. Boule considers to belong to the late palæolithic period, point to the existence of this hunting culture in India also.

and his school have given the name of the Religion of Mana. The latter, however, is not the ideal term, since in Polynesia and Melanesia, excepting only in the Banks and Torres Islands, Mana is used almost exclusively to describe the magical powers of individual men, especially chiefs.

It is rather among the relatively advanced hunting tribes of North America that this conception has been most fully developed and can be most clearly recognised.

Thus Swanton writes of the Tlingit Indians in Alaska: "The Tlingit do not divide the universe arbitrarily into so many different quarters ruled by so many supernatural beings. On the contrary, supernatural power impresses them as a vast immensity, one in kind and impersonal, inscrutable as to its nature, but whenever manifesting itself to men taking a personal, and it might be said a human personal form in whatever aspect it displays itself. Thus the sky spirit is the ocean of supernatural energy as it manifests itself in the sky, the sea-spirit as it manifests itself in the sea, the bear spirit as it manifests itself in the bear, the rock spirit as it manifests itself in the rock, &c. It is not meant that the Tlingit consciously reasons this out, or formulates a unity in the supernatural, but such appears to be his unexpressed feeling. For this reason there appears to be but one name for this spiritual power, *Yôk*, a name which is affixed to any specific manifestation of it, and it is to this perception or feeling reduced to personality, that the 'Great Spirit' idea seems usually to have affixed itself. This supernatural energy must be carefully differentiated from natural energy and never confused with it. It is true that the former is supposed to bring about results similar to the latter, but in the mind of the Tlingit the conceived difference between the two is as great as with us. A rock rolling down hill or an animal running is by no means a manifestation of supernatural energy, although if something peculiar be associated with these actions, something outside the Indian's usual experience of such phenomena, they may be thought of as such."<sup>3</sup>

THIS cosmic supernatural power was everywhere recognised by the peoples of North America under many different names, Orenda, Wakan, Manito, &c., and it is obvious that while it is neither theism nor animism it has considerable affinities to both.

M. DURKHEIM quotes the saying of a Dakota in which we see the beginnings of a tendency to rationalise or philosophise the vague primitive belief. "Everything as it moves now and then, here and there, makes stops. A bird as it flies stops in one place to make its

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton. SOCIAL CONDITIONS, BELIEFS AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONS OF THE TLINGIT INDIAN, in 26th Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 451-2, note.

nest and in another place to rest from its flight. A man when he goes forth stops when he wills. So the god has stopped. The sun, which is so bright and beautiful, is one place where he has stopped. The trees, the animals, are where he has stopped, and the Indian thinks of these places and sends his prayer to reach the place where the god has stopped and to win health and a blessing." In other words, the Wakan (for that is what he was talking about) comes and goes through the world, and sacred things are the points upon which it alights. Here we are for once just as far from Naturism as from Animism. If the sun, the moon, and the stars have been adored, they have not owed this honour to their distinctive properties or their intrinsic nature, but to the fact that they are thought to participate in this force, which alone is able to give things a sacred character, and which is also found in a multitude of other beings, even the smallest. If the souls of the dead have been the object of rites, it is not because they are believed to be made out of some fluid and impalpable substance, nor is it because they resemble the shadow cast by a body or its reflection on a surface of water. Lightness and fluidity are not enough to confer sanctity; they have been invested with this dignity only in so far as they contained within them something of this same force, the source of all religiosity." (Durkheim, *THE ELEMENTARY FORMS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE*, Eng. tr., pp. 199-200). Now this idea of a diffused supernatural cosmic power is found almost everywhere amongst primitive peoples. Among the decadent remnants of the Palæo-Siberian tribes, among the Melanesians and the Australians, and among the least advanced of the African peoples. It is often almost indistinguishable from Animism properly so called, for example, among the Lango and other Nilotic peoples where *Jok*, usually translated God, is conceived at once as a power behind nature and as the accumulated force of the spirits of the dead. It lies at the root of primitive magic, which consists essentially in the experimental knowledge and control of this supernatural force.<sup>4</sup>

So, too, according to a writer in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, among the Yao of Nyassaland the word *Mulungu* is applied alike to the ancestral spirits, and to the creative power behind nature, and it is very remarkable that when the same word is taken over by the missionaries to describe the personal God of their teaching, the natives added to it a personal prefix "*Che*"—"Mr. Spirit" as it

<sup>4</sup> Miss Mary Kingsley was fond of tracing the connection between the view of Nature implicit in the West African Fetish Cults and her own vitalistic monism. She describes certain characteristic utterances of Spinoza and Goethe as "magnificent Fetish," but she argued that the same attitude to Nature, "if you take it up with no higher form of mind in you than a shrewd, logical one alone, will, if you carry it out, lead you necessarily to paint a white chalk rim round one eye, eat your captive, use Woka incantations for diseases, and dance and howl all night repeatedly, to the awe of your fellow believers, and the scandal of Mohammedan gentlemen, who have a revealed religion." *WEST AFRICAN STUDIES*, chap. V., esp. p. 104.

were—to distinguish it from the undifferentiated and impersonal meaning that the word had hitherto borne.

MOREOVER some peoples who possess a fairly well-defined personal deity, like the Koryaks of N.E. Siberia, have preserved a religious terminology which points to the former existence of much wider and vaguer religious conceptions. According to Jochelson, the Koryak apply the following names to their god (1) Universe or world—lit. Outer One, (2) Supervisor, (3) Something existing, (4) Existence or Strength, (5) The One on High, (6) The Master on High, (7) The Master, (8) The Dawn, (9) The Thunder Man. Among the Siberian peoples, the general belief, however, is in a number of powers behind the phenomena of nature, which are distinct from the (evil) spirits, and from the souls of the dead and are known as "Beings" by the Chukchi, and as "Masters" or "Owners" by the Gilyak. Thus there is the Owner of the Mountain, the Owner of the Sea, the Owner of the Reindeer; and these powers are propitiated by the hunter and the fisherman, as the Animal Guardian spirit is in North America.<sup>5</sup>

FOR the peoples of the hunting culture always see this vague cosmic power above all manifested and incarnated in the animals. It might seem at first sight that the conditions of primitive life in which the hunter lives at war with nature, are irreconcilable with any feelings of religious reverence towards his prey. Yet we have only to turn to modern savages to see that this is not so. The beasts are looked on as stronger and wiser than man. They are the first-born of nature, the real lords of the land; while man is a new-comer—an intruder.

And since he must kill the beasts in order to live, it is necessary for him in some way to secure the favour of the lords of the beasts themselves, that he may do so by their permission.

THERE still exist among the hunting peoples widely spread customs and ceremonies designed to secure the favour of the animal spirits before hunting, or to placate the beasts that have been killed.

ESPECIALLY among the northern people from Finland and Lapland throughout Siberia and North Eastern Asia to North America, we find these peculiar customs in connection with the hunting and the killing of the Bear, the most formidable of northern animals, and the one most apt to inspire reverence and awe. Some tribes of American Indians prepared for the hunt by fasting and religious rites and by the offering of expiatory sacrifice to the souls of the bears already killed. Among the Tlingit of Alaska, when a dead bear was brought into camp "its head was carried indoors and eagle down and red paint put upon it. Then one talked to it as if to a human being, saying, 'I am your friend, I am poor and come to you.' Before the entrails

<sup>5</sup> Czaplka, *ABORIGINAL SIBERIA*, p. 262 and *passim*.

were burned he talked to them saying, 'I am poor, that is why I am hunting you.' When one came to a bear trail, he said, 'My father's brother-in-law, have pity upon me, let me be in luck.'"<sup>6</sup>

AMONG the Koryaks of North East Siberia, when a bear is killed, "the bear-skin is taken off along with the head and one of the women puts on the skin, dances in it, and entreats the bear not to be angry but to be kind to the people." At the same time they offer meat on a wooden platter to the dead beast, saying, "Eat, friend." Afterwards a ceremony is performed with the object of sending the dead bear, or rather his spirit, away back to his home. He is provided with provisions for the journey in the shape of puddings or reindeer flesh packed in a grass bag. His skin is stuffed with grass and carried round the house, after which he is supposed to depart towards the rising sun. The intention of the ceremonies is to protect the people from the wrath of the slain bear and his kinsfolk and to secure success in future bear hunts.<sup>7</sup>

AMONG the Gilyaks of the Amur, every clan has a captive bear cub which is kept for a year or two, until it is killed and eaten in a solemn feast of the clan; after which its soul is despatched to the Owner of the Mountain, laden with offerings, in order that he may send more bears for their hunting in the future. As we shall see later on, the sharing of this "common bear" is an important element in the social organisation of the Gilyaks.

AND if this attitude to animals obtained even in the 19th century among American Indians and Siberians with their incomparably greater resources against nature, how much more must it not have been so for palæolithic man, armed with his poor implements of flint and bone, in the presence of the mighty prehistoric fauna of the steppes—the bison and the elk, the cave bear and the lion, the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros! And this is proved not merely by a priori reasoning, but by the evidence of palæolithic art, which consists almost entirely of animal paintings and sculptures.

We can be certain that the primitive hunter did not create these works of art in the depth of dark and inaccessible caverns for the sake of amusement. Their origin is undoubtedly magical or religious, and is to be explained by beliefs and practices regarding the animal spirits, of the type of those we have just described. Indeed, the very use of cave sanctuaries, such as Magdalenian man used, seems to survive among the modern hunting peoples, for we read that Apache medicine men before a hunt "used to resort to certain caves where they propitiated the animal gods whose progeny they intended to destroy."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Swanton, *THE TLINGIT INDIANS*, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> Jochelson, *THE KORYAK*, p. 88, in *FRAZER, SPIRITS OF THE CORN AND THE WILD*, II., 223.

<sup>8</sup> N. W. THOMAS, S.V., *ANIMALS IN HASTINGS, E.R.E.*, I., 511 b.



THE palæolithic animal paintings were in fact the magical means by which man acquired power over the beasts. It was only by the spirit of the animal that man could overcome the animal. He must magically conquer and make his own the force of the bison, the swiftness of the horse, the cunning of the lynx and the wild cat. And this mysterious transference of power could only be accomplished, in the eyes of primitive man, through the image—either the dream image or the dramatically represented image or finally the painted or carven image.

MANY of the cave paintings of Magdalenian times show clear signs of having been used for magical purposes. The animals, especially the buffalo, are often marked with signs, intended in all probability to represent spears, or with cupulas which seem to represent wounds, or else with "tectiform" signs in the shape of a single rectangular structure, of which the explanation is more obscure. But there can be little doubt that all these marks were magical signs by which the operator "put his power" on the animal, and secured its capture by the hunter.<sup>9</sup>

BUT this is not the only explanation of the palæolithic animal paintings and sculptures. Many of the caves seem to have been true sanctuaries, and the figures in them the object not merely of utilitarian magical practices, but of a real cult. For example, the Tuc d'Audoubert cave with its famous clay modelled bison, has impressed every observer as an "Inner sanctuary," which has been the scene of prehistoric religious rites. And in the case of the modern hunting peoples of North America the use of animal paintings, though not without its utilitarian magical side, is primarily connected with a circle of ideas, which even Sir James Frazer recognises as religious in the full sense of the word.

THIS is the belief in the Animal-Guardian Spirits, a belief which was almost universal among the hunting tribes of North America, and was specially powerful in the regions where agriculture was unknown, such as Northern and Western Canada.<sup>10</sup>

EVERY individual, but particularly the shaman and the chief, was supposed to possess such a guardian, whom he received through a

<sup>9</sup>Similar practices are found among the Indians of N. America. They also made drawings of animals with arrow marks on the side or in the heart, or carved figures upon which they bound a flint arrow head. And in their case we have the actual charms that were recited by the magician, such as—

"I shoot your heart; I hit your heart,  
Oh Animal—your heart—I hit your heart."

See illustrations and references for the Zuni and Ojibwa Indians in Sollas' *ANCIENT HUNTERS*, pp. 424-7.

<sup>10</sup>This belief was observed by the Spaniards, centuries before Totemism had been discovered, and was named by them *Nagualism*, from the word for the guardian spirit—*Nagual*—which was generally used in Central America. Cf. D. G. Brinton, *NAGUALISM, A STUDY IN AMERICAN FOLK LORE AND HISTORY*, in *Pr. American Philosophical Society*, vol. XXXIII.



dream or revelation in times of fasting and religious exaltation. Among the Blackfeet, a man who wished to acquire supernatural power, would go away by himself into the wilderness, to some place of terror and mystery—a mountain peak, an island in a lake, a burial ground or some place abounding in bears and wild beasts. Here he would remain for days without food or covering, lying for two nights on his right side and for two nights on his left, fasting and praying to the helpers. At last, often at the end of the fourth day, a secret helper would appear to him in a vision—usually, but not always, in the form of an animal—and would impart to him its power, and give him counsel, marking for him his course in life.<sup>11</sup>

AMONG the Omaka, according to Fletcher, a boy on attaining the age of puberty went through a similar ordeal. When he had reached a secluded spot among the hills, "he must chant the prescribed prayer uplifting his hands, wet with his tears, to the heavens, and then he must place his hands on the earth and fast, until he falls asleep or into a trance. Whatever he sees or hears while in this state is the being through whom he can receive superhuman aid and comfort." Later on it is his duty to seek until he finds the animal or bird seen in his revelation, which he must kill, retaining a small part of it, as a concrete link with the power that he had seen in his vision. The writer adds, "This ceremony of initiation rests on the assumption that man's powers and activities can be supplemented by the elements and the animals, only through the grace of *Wakonda*, obtained by the rite of vision, consisting of ritualistic acts and a fervent prayer of humility explaining a longing for something not possessed, a consciousness of insufficiency of self, and an abiding desire for something capable of bringing welfare and prosperity to the suppliant."<sup>12</sup>

THE mode of preparation varied in character and severity among the different peoples. The Mandans even went so far as to cut off the joints of their fingers, so that according to the Prince of Wied in 1833, some finger was mutilated amongst all of them, a practice which suggests comparison with the famous mutilated hand prints in the palæolithic cavern of Gargas in the Pyrenees.

IN Western Canada and Alaska, as well as among the Omaka, it was more often a regular initiation ordeal, which every youth had to undergo, and in some cases, as among the Shuswap, the making of rock paintings of the animal guardians was a normal part of the ceremony. But in every case, the dream image or vision was essential. Writing of the Western Déné of the Yukon, Fr. A. G. Morice refers to the importance that they attach to dreams. He says: "It is while dreaming that they pretended to communicate with the supernatural world, that

<sup>11</sup> Frazer, *TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY*, III., 389.

<sup>12</sup> *HANDBOOK OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS NORTH OF MEXICO*, vol. II., p. 790, art Totem.

their shamans were invested with their wonderful power over nature, and that every individual was assigned his particular nagual or tutelary animal genius. Oftentimes they painted this genius with vermilion on prominent rocks in the most frequented places, and these rough inscriptions are about the only monuments that the immediate ancestors of the Déné have left us."

ELSEWHERE he says (the tutelary spirits) "are the link which connects man with the invisible world, and the only means of communing with the unseen: these are the personal totems of the Dénés, and I cannot help thinking of most of the American aborigines as well. It has been said that Totemism is a purely social institution. I feel absolutely no hesitation in denying this, at least as far as the Dénés are concerned. Totemism among them is essentially and exclusively connected with their religious system, and I am inclined to believe that the gentile totem is nothing else than an extension to the entire clan of an institution, which was originally restricted to the individual."

"THE personal totem revealed itself usually in dreams, when it appeared to its future protégé under the shape of an animal, &c., which was to be thenceforth his tutelary genius. . . . Thenceforth the most intimate connection existed between the two. The native would be careful to carry on his person and expose in his lodge the spoils of that animal, its entire skin, or part of it, which he would not suffer to be treated lightly. Occasionally he would even carve a rough representation of the totem. He would treasure any object—such as a stone or a vegetable excrescence—between which and his totem he fancied he saw a striking resemblance. He would paint its form or symbol in bright vermilion on conspicuous rocks along lakes or rivers, &c. Under no circumstances would anything induce him wilfully to kill, or at least to cut the flesh of the being, the prototype of which had become, as it were, sacred to him. In times of need he would secretly invoke its assistance, saying: "May you do this or that to me."

"BEFORE an assault on his enemies or previous to his chase of large game, he would daub its symbol on his bow and arrows, and if success attended his efforts he would sometimes thank it by destroying any piece of property on hand, food or clothing, or in later times tobacco, which he would throw into the water or cast into the fire as a sacrifice."<sup>13</sup>

THESE descriptions suggest parallels in several respects with the hunting cultures of prehistoric Europe,<sup>14</sup> and there is no doubt that

<sup>13</sup> Rev. A. G. Morice in FRAZER TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY, III., 440-442.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. also the Indian custom of a shaman or an initiate wearing the skin or mask of his tutelary animal in religious dances or ceremonies with the palæolithic paintings of men disguised as animals, such as the famous figure of the "sorcerer" from the grotto of the Trois Frères (Ariège).

the existence of a similar circle of ideas in palæolithic times would afford a more satisfactory explanation than is otherwise forthcoming of the art of the European cave paintings. The wealth of animal paintings, their variety, and their reduplication one upon another, are such as might be expected, if the religious ideas and ceremonies centred round the conception of Animal Guardians and the importance of the visible image. A great artistic movement such as that of the palæolithic cave paintings presupposes a powerful emotional foundation in the psychic life of the people, such as we have seen to exist where the belief in the Animal Guardian Spirit is still prevalent. A purely utilitarian magic is incapable of producing a great art—in fact, among primitive people, even more than elsewhere, a great art requires a strong religious impulse to bring it into being. A totemic origin has often been suggested for the palæolithic paintings, for example, by S. Reinach, but to this it has been rightly objected that there are no signs of selection of one particular type of animal, such as we should expect if a tribal totem was being depicted. This objection, however, does not hold good against the view that the painting represents animal guardians. Moreover, this view would also explain the existence of figures of animals which are not good for food, such as the cat or the lion, and which consequently cannot be explained on purely utilitarian grounds.

THE idea of the animal guardian cannot, however, be entirely separated from the question of Totemism. In North America, at any rate, the two seem to be closely connected. Not only do many tribes, such as the Déné, possess at once naguals or individual guardians and clan totems as well, but also there are certain institutions intermediate between the two. First of all there are the widespread and important secret societies, of which the bond of union is the possession of a common guardian spirit—which therefore appears as a kind of non-hereditary totem, and secondly among some of the tribes of British Columbia, the individual guardian can in some cases become hereditary, passing from father to son—so that it appears as a kind of family totem.

IN consequence of these facts a connection between the two beliefs is universally admitted, but while the majority of American ethnologists, such as Boas, have seen in Totemism simply the extension to the community of the conception of the individual Animal Guardian Spirit, European writers have almost universally adopted the opposite view, and they maintain that the belief in guardian spirits is the last trace of a decadent and disappearing Totemism.

THIS view is, however, difficult to reconcile with the actual distribution of the two institutions in America. As Sir James Frazer has pointed out, totemic institutions in North America are most fully developed

in the more highly developed and sedentary cultures, for example, in the Pueblo culture of the south west, and among the Haida and Tlingit of the North Pacific coast, while they are absent among the primitive and barbarous peoples of California, and the territories to the northward. On the other hand, the cult of the guardian spirits and the beliefs concerning the dream image, are strongest among the hunters of the plains and the northern forests, and are also found among the Californians and the primitive western peoples, while they are entirely absent among the Pueblo Indians, and almost so among the Haida.

Now the origin of the belief in Guardian Spirits among a hunting people is simple. It arises directly from their psychic environment, and as we have shown, forms an essential part of the hunting culture. The origins of Totemism on the contrary remain obscure, in spite of half a century of study and reasearch. To view the belief in the Guardian Spirits as a relic of Totemism would be to derive the simple from the complex, and the primitive from the advanced. It is easy to understand how the belief in the guardian spirits of the hunter should pass away among a sedentary agricultural people like the Pueblo Indians, or among the trading and fishing villages of the North Pacific coast, while Totemism, even though it owed its origin to the same circle of ideas, when once it is embodied in a settled social organisation, will endure as long as the society continues to exist.

JUDGING the North American evidence by itself, it seems clear that the Religion of the Hunter—the belief in Animal Guardian Spirits—lies at the root of the whole development. First come the Guardian Spirit of the shaman, then that of the ordinary individual; finally, as population increases and the primitive groups become more complex, the same idea becomes the principle of social organisation, and we have, on the one hand, the religious confraternity of men who own a common guardian spirit, i.e., the secret society, on the other, the group of kinsmen that inherit a common guardian, i.e., the regular totemic clan.

THIS relatively simple explanation, which adequately covers the evidence as it exists in North America<sup>15</sup>, has, however, met with little favour in Europe, partly because it conflicts with the view that Totemism is essentially a non-religious institution, but still more because European students of the question almost invariably assume that in Australia alone do we find Totemism at its purest.

<sup>15</sup>The belief in animal guardians is however not confined to America. On the contrary, it is perhaps even more widespread than the totemic institution itself. It is found among the Siberians, the Melanesians and Polynesians (the so-called "spirit animals"), the Australians, and many African peoples. It even appears in a degraded form in European folklore and magic, i.e., the animal "familiar" of the wizard.

BUT if, as we have supposed, Totemism is an alien institution introduced among the primitive inhabitants of Australia by representatives of the hunting culture from Southern Asia, this would not be the case, and it would be conceivable that the totemism of less primitive peoples might be more representative of the original type of the institution. It may seem paradoxical to suggest that peoples like the North American Indians who possess some knowledge alike of agriculture and of the use of metals, can be better representatives of primitive conditions than the natives of Australia, who were completely ignorant of both. But it is in the plains and barren lands of Canada that the natural conditions of late palæolithic Europe are most closely paralleled, both in climate, in flora and in fauna, and it would seem to follow that the reproduction of the psychological conditions of the primitive hunter are to be looked for rather in the Indian of the North, who, like his Magdalenian forerunner, was a parasite of the bison and the reindeer, than in the Australian, who looks to the wallaby, the lizard and the wicketty-grub for the sources of his existence.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON.

## REPRESENTATIVE BIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF SOCIETY : by Harry Elmer Barnes.

### INTRODUCTION.

IN his teaching of the history of social theory the writer has been impressed with the fact that there does not seem to be available in the English language any brief and succinct survey of the leading types of biological interpretations of social institutions, processes and problems. It is the purpose of this series of articles to supply a preliminary and tentative survey of this sort. Absolute thoroughness and completeness are in no way pretended, but it is hoped that the more important representative biological approaches to social questions are presented, and that the bibliographic suggestions will be adequate to guide enterprising students along the line of a more intensive cultivation of this very vital and important field of contemporary social theory.

### I. THE ANALOGY BETWEEN SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL ORGANISM.

#### 1. ORGANISMIC THEORIES OF POLITICS BEFORE THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC PERIOD.

THE theory of a resemblance between classes, groups and institutions in society and the organs of the individual is as old as political philosophy itself. Aristotle, in Book IV. of his *POLITICS*, sets forth this notion of the organic analogy with precision and clarity. The same conception appears clearly in the writings of Cicero, Livy, Seneca and St. Paul.<sup>1</sup> In the middle ages very elaborate anthropomorphic analogies were drawn by John of Salisbury (1120-82) and Nicholas of Cues (1401-64).<sup>2</sup> In the early modern period Hobbes and Rousseau contrasted the organism and the state, holding that the organism was the product of nature while the state was an artificial creation.<sup>3</sup> In the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries metaphysical notions of the social and political organism appeared with such writers as Hegel, Schelling, Krause, Ahrens, Schmittenner and Waitz.<sup>4</sup> Following them came another school of writers who dwelt upon the personality of the state. Among these were Stahl, Stein, Lasson,

<sup>1</sup>E. T. Towne, *DIE AUFFASSUNG DER GESELLSCHAFT ALS ORGANISMUS*, pp. 15-24 ; E. Barker, *THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE*, pp. 127, 138-9, 276-81.

<sup>2</sup>O. Gierke, *POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE MIDDLE AGE*, pp. 22-30, notes, pp. 103-4, 112, 122-3, 129-37. Other writers in the middle ages expressing this point of view were Thomas Aquinas, and Marsiglio of Padua. See F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF SOME GREAT MEDIEVAL THINKERS*.

<sup>3</sup>T. Hobbes, *THE LEVIATHAN* ; J. J. Rousseau, *THE SOCIAL CONTRACT*. Cf., F. W. Coker, *ORGANISMIC THEORIES OF THE STATE*, pp. 14-16. In this section we rely largely on Professor Coker's excellent monograph.

<sup>4</sup>Coker, *op. cit.*, 26-42.



and Gierke.<sup>5</sup> Another significant application of the analogical doctrine was that which compared the psychological ages of the state with stages in the life of the individual. The more important writers in this group were Welcker, Rohmer and Volgraff. The most famous of the group was Theodor Rohmer. His *THEORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES* was published in 1844. In it he compared the ages of political parties with the life ages of man. Each individual passes through four periods, boyhood, youth, manhood, and old age. There are four types of political parties which are related to and characterised by the psychological tendencies most prominent in each of these four ages of man. In boyhood, man is radical; in youth, he is liberal; in manhood, he is conservative; and in old age, he is an absolutist. There are then, four natural types of political parties, the radical, the liberal, the conservative, and the absolutist.<sup>6</sup>

ANOTHER school of organicists were those who, though they wrote before modern evolutionary biology, turned to natural science to discover data which would support the comparison between the organism and the state. The leaders in this group were Zacharia, Volgraff, Frantz, and Bluntschli. The most extreme and influential of these writers was Johann Caspar Bluntschli.<sup>7</sup> He went further than any other writer before him or since in claiming the identity between the state and the organism. Bluntschli selected sixteen parts of the human body and compared them in detail with sixteen organs of the body politic. He also determined the sex of the social organism. He stated that it was scientifically demonstrable that the state was masculine and the church feminine. On account of the fact that Bluntschli was the most famous and influential political scientist of the Nineteenth century, his notions about the state and the social organism had a great influence on the development of political science for two generations after 1850.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. BIOLOGY, BIOLOGICAL SOCIOLOGY, AND THE MODERN THEORY OF THE BIOLOGICAL ANALOGY AS DESCRIPTIVE OF SOCIETY AND THE STATE.

### A. INTRODUCTORY.

WITH the development of modern biology, there came a great elaboration of the notion of the relation between the biological organism and the social organism. This differed from the earlier anthropomorphic and mystical analogies, as well as from the pseudo-scientific analogy of Bluntschli. It rested upon scientific knowledge of biological

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-82.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 49-60. The most thorough English statement of Rohmer's theory is found in Bluntschli's article on "Political Parties," in Lalor's *CYCLOPEDIA OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, POLITICAL ECONOMY AND UNITED STATES HISTORY*.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 82-114. <sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-114.

structure and processes and attempted to show how these were also exemplified by social institutions and social processes. Though we now regard these attempts as sterile, except for purposes of description, they represent the final completion of the organic theory of society. The leaders in this group have been the sociologists Comte, Spencer, Lilienfeld, Schaeffle, Worms, and Fouillée.<sup>9</sup>

#### B. AUGUSTE COMTE (1798-1857).

WHILE Comte did not elaborate to any great extent the organic conception of society, still he may be said to have offered the suggestions for the later school of so-called "Organicists" and is notable for holding that the organic doctrine was no mere analogy but rather a reality. It was the individual who is an abstraction rather than the social organism. Coker has summed up in the following manner his organic doctrines to be found in the *PHILOSOPHIE POSITIVE*: society is a collective organism, as contrasted to the individual organism or plant, and possesses the primary organic attribute of the *CONSENSUS UNIVERSEL*. There is to be seen in the organism and in society a harmony of structure and function working towards a common end through action and reaction among its parts and upon the environment. This harmonious development reaches its highest stage in human society which is the final step in organic evolution. Social progress is characterised by an increasing specialisation of functions and a corresponding tendency towards an adaptation and perfection of organs. Finally social disturbances are maladies of the social organism and the proper subject-matter of social pathology.<sup>10</sup> In the *POLITY* he elaborated the similarity between the individual and the social organism. In the family may be found the social cell; in the social forces may be discerned the social tissues; in the state (city) may be discovered the social organs; in the various nations are to be detected the social analogues of the apparatus of biology; and, finally, one may behold in the social classes the analogue of the systems in biology. The great difference between the individual organism and the social organism lies in the fact that the former is essentially immutable, while the latter is capable of great improvement through social effort and control.<sup>11</sup>

#### C. HERBERT SPENCER (1820-1903).

IT was reserved for Herbert Spencer to present the first systematic development of the organic theory.<sup>12</sup> Spencer enumerates

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 116-190. <sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 123-4.

<sup>11</sup>A. Comte, *PRINCIPLES OF A POSITIVE POLITY*, Vol. II., pp. 240-42; Martineau, *PHILOSOPHY OF COMTE*, Vol. II., pp. 258-62, 299-301.

<sup>12</sup>THE SOCIAL ORGANISM (1860); SPECIALIZED ADMINISTRATION (1871); PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. I., Part II.; citations from the PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY are from the New York edition of 1896.

six fundamental similarities between society and an organism. First, both are distinguished from inorganic matter by an augmentation of mass and visible growth during a greater part of their existence. Second, as both increase in size they increase in complexity of structure. Third, progressive differentiation of structure in both is accompanied by a like differentiation of functions. Fourth, evolution establishes in both social and animal organisms not only differences, but definitely connected differences of such a character as to make each other possible. Fifth, the analogy between a society and an organism is still more evident when it is recognised that conversely every organism is a society. Finally, in both society and the organism, the life of the aggregate may be destroyed and the units still continue to live on for a greater or less space of time.

ON the other hand there are three important differences to be noted between society and the organism. In the first place, whereas in an individual organism the component parts form a concrete whole, and the living units are bound together in close contact, in the social organism the component parts form a discrete whole and the living units are free and more or less dispersed. Again, and even more fundamental, whereas in the individual organism there is such a differentiation of functions that some parts become the seat of feeling and thought and others are practically insensitive, in the social organism no such differentiation exists; there is no social mind or sensorium apart from the individuals that make up the society. As a result of this second difference there is to be observed the third distinction, namely, that, while in the organism the units exist for the good of the whole, in society the whole exists for the good of the individual members.<sup>13</sup>

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THE first writer to follow Spencer in developing the organismic theory of society, and the most voluminous author of that school was the Russian scholar, Paul Lilienfeld, whose five volume work *GEDANKEN ÜBER DIE SOCIALWISSENSCHAFT DER ZUKUNFT*, appeared in Mittau between 1873 and 1881. His later works of major importance were, *LA PATHOLOGIE SOCIALE* (Paris, 1896) and *ZUR VERTHEIDIGUNG DER ORGANISCHEN METHODE IN DER SOCIOLOGIE* (Berlin, 1898). This last work is an excellent epitome of his system.

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of the social organism, it seems that the Russian writer developed his fundamental doctrines independent of the work of Spencer.<sup>14</sup> While Spencer had mainly argued that the relation between the organism and society was chiefly an illuminating analogy, Lilienfeld insisted that there was a real identity between society and the organism.<sup>15</sup> He held that if there was any difference it was merely in degree and not in kind, society being the third or highest form in the organic kingdom, ranking above the plant and animal kingdoms. He also introduced the important concept of social pathology or the field of the diseases of the social organism.

LILIENFELD enumerates five fundamental characteristics of an organism which correspond to analogous attributes in society.<sup>16</sup> In the first place, there is an intense and varied interaction of forces in both. The difference is that "society is a more many-sidedly developed organism, in which purposivity, spirituality, and freedom prevail over causation, materiality, and necessity in a higher degree than in all other organisms of nature."<sup>17</sup> In the next place, both are characterized by an inner unity—a cohesive attraction of an aggregation of particles towards a center of gravity. Again, in both society and the organism matter and force act in a purposive manner. Social action, especially, is never without a definite purpose. It always pertains to the interaction of individuals, or social groups, or is directed against the forces of nature and is easily the most purposive of all organic action.<sup>18</sup> Further, society best exemplifies the characteristic of structural perfectability common to it and the organism. By this is meant the increasing specialisation of outer and inner parts and of the functions pertaining to them through successive adjustments of the organism to the environment.<sup>19</sup> Finally, society is superior to the organism in their mutual characteristic of the process of "capitalisation," namely, the storing up of materials and energies for future consumption.<sup>20</sup>

THERE are some minor differences between society and the organism, but they are by no means as important or numerous as the identities. These differences are, first, that organisation finds a higher development and complexity in society; and second, the relation of the parts to the whole vary as between society and the organism. In the plant kingdom neither individuals nor parts move; in the animal kingdom the individual moves independently but not the parts; in society both the individual and the aggregate are capable of independent movements.<sup>21</sup>

THE structure of the social organism is made up of cellular and inter-cellular substance. The first is composed of social cells or the individual nervous systems of men, and social tissues or social groups,

<sup>14</sup>Coker, *ORGANISMIC THEORIES OF THE STATE*, p. 139. <sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 140. <sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 141-4. <sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 141 (*GEDANKEN*, Vol. I., pp. 57-8). <sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 142. <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 142-3. <sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 143. <sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145.



classes, and professions. Society is a superior sort of organism in having only nerve cells and tissues.<sup>22</sup> By intercellular substance Lilienfeld means the total social and physical environment in which man is placed, as well as the transformations he is able to effect in this environment.<sup>23</sup>

In every social group three fundamental spheres of activity may be detected—the economic, juridical, and political. These correspond to the physiological, morphological, and unitary spheres of the organisms of nature.<sup>24</sup> Political life is thus the unifying force in the hierarchy of social forces and government may be designated as the brain of the social organism—the organ of unification and co-ordination.<sup>25</sup> “The government, as the sovereign power, as the incorporation of social unity, takes up into itself the wills of the individual members of society and reflects back upon them the collective will, directly or through the agency of various intermediate organs. But the government . . . can receive only a small part of the whole sum of reflexes which are going on among the individual wills traversing the organism. The more highly developed the society is, the more variously and with greater fullness, does the government receive the reflexes from all parts of the organism, and therefore the more actively and effectively does it react upon the parts.”<sup>26</sup> The forms of government simply determine the manner in which the society achieves unity through the co-ordinating organs. They have no correlation with the degree of development of a society, but simply provide convenient categories for distinguishing social groups.<sup>27</sup>

THE general law of the evolution of the social organism is to be found in the process of progressive integration and differentiation of the social forces. Political development is characterised by “an intenser concentration of forces combined with a greater independence of parts.”<sup>28</sup>

FINALLY, the social organism is subject to sickness and decay.<sup>29</sup> Maladies of the social organism are usually localised in the cellular substance altering the character of the cells. Government is the great therapeutic agent in treating the maladies of the social organism.

#### E. ALBERT G. SCHAEFFLE (1831-1903).

LILIENFELD'S distinguished contemporary, Schaeffle, published his chief contribution to sociological literature, entitled, *BAU UND LEBEN DES SOCIALEN KÖRPERS*, in seven volumes between 1875 and 1878.<sup>30</sup> The most compact statement of Schaeffle's sociology is to be found in the *ABRISS DER SOZIOLOGIE VON DR. ALBERT G. FR. SCHAEFFLE*,

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145. <sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 146. <sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 147. <sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 148. <sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 149 (GEDANKEN, Vol. I., p. 187). <sup>27</sup>Coker, *op. cit.*, p. 149. <sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 150-1. <sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 152-4. <sup>30</sup>A revised two volume edition appeared in 1896.

edited by Buecher, Tuebingen, 1906. A critical review of his system is to be found in the *VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE PHILOSOPHIE UND SOZIOLOGIE*, by Professor Paul Barth.<sup>31</sup>

SCHAEFFLE's use of the biological analogy in explaining social processes is much more qualified than was the case with most other members of the school. He maintained that society is not a real organism but is rather a life union of individuals spiritually and not physiologically constituted.<sup>32</sup> At the same time he believed in the general usefulness of the organic analogy and his method is primarily biological, though there is a large amount of acute psychological reflection to be found throughout the work.<sup>33</sup>

THE study of the forms and functions of society fall under the headings of the social morphology and physiology, dealing with the individual beings, national possessions, and their combination; and social psychology which studies the mental life of society.<sup>34</sup>

SCHAEFFLE finds five general types of social tissue. The first is designated as "arrangements of domiciliation" such as buildings, streets, roads, &c., and these have no homologue in the organic kingdom.<sup>35</sup> The next type is the protective tissues such as clothing, roofs, safes, and fortresses, and is homologous to the epidermal tissues in the individual organism.<sup>36</sup> The third type of tissue is the economic or household arrangements such as the economic arrangement of family, social, religious, political, and cultural life. The homologous tissues in the organism are those which supply its nourishment. Next are the practical or technical social arrangements, such as the various means for the generation and application of social power as exemplified by the army, police, state officials, and business administration, and having for their homologue the muscular tissues in animals. The fifth and final type of social tissue is the psycho-physical, such as the institutions of intellectual activity manifested in all the agencies of public and private control and direction. These have for their organic analogue the nerve tissues.<sup>37</sup>

SCHAEFFLE epitomises his theory of society in the following paragraph: "The social body takes up into itself all human, animal, vegetable and inorganic materials and forms of movement of the whole earth body, comprehends them into one historical life-community, and leads them towards the last, most universal, and most many sided equilibrium of human, spiritual, and bodily development with all the external influences of our planet. The universality and high-degree

<sup>31</sup>Barth, loc. cit., 1907, pp. 468ff. See also Small, *GENERAL SOCIOLOGY*, and Jacobs, *GERMAN SOCIOLOGY*, passim.

<sup>32</sup>Coker, op. cit., pp. 154-5. <sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 155, cf. Small, op. cit. <sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 159. <sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 159-60. <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 160. <sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 160-1.

of spiritualisation of its stuff and its movements are the distinctive characteristics of the social body." <sup>38</sup>

THERE are three main groups of social organs. The first group includes the "institutions of outer national life," such as production, trade, transportation and protection. <sup>39</sup> The second group comprehends the "institutions of inner national life," such as sociality, education, culture, science, literature, art and religion. These two groups are united, controlled, and co-ordinated by the third group—the state. "The state is thus the regulative central apparatus for co-ordinating all the elements of general social activity, and the organ of positive interference for preserving the social aggregate. Its task is the centralised integration of all social will and action in the interest of the maintenance of the whole and of the essential parts thereof. In the central universal corporation—the State—the whole nation attains unity and individuality." <sup>40</sup>

THE structure of the state may be analysed on the basis of the same five-fold set of tissues which characterise society in general. <sup>41</sup> A combination of these tissues makes up the "organ-system" of the state. <sup>42</sup> This system may otherwise be divided into the constitutional holders of public authority made up of the magistrates, electorate and representative body, and the political agencies affecting the above, such as political parties. Again, each of these may be subdivided as central and local in scope of action. <sup>43</sup>

THE genesis of the state is a result of the struggle for existence and natural selection in respect to both individuals and groups, while the process of evolution itself is progressive integration and differentiation. Schaeffle thus combined the Darwinian and Spencerian conceptions. There are five stages in the evolution of the state: the primitive patriarchal constitution; the class constitution, such as control by the military, priestly, feudal, or monarchical class; the city-state constitution; the territorial constitution; and the modern national constitution. <sup>44</sup> In this process of evolution the struggle for existence becomes less violent as society develops, since "adjustment replaces annihilation." <sup>45</sup>

#### F. ALFRED FOUILLÉE (1838-1912).

SPENCER was not without followers among the French scholars, and in 1880 Alfred Fouillée published his suggestive work, *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE CONTEMPORAINE*, in which he attempted to combine effectively the doctrines of the social contract and the social organism, both of

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 158 and note (BAU UND LEBEN, Vol. I., Bk. I., Sec. 3, p. 15).

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.* p. 161. <sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 162 (BAU UND LEBEN, Vol. II., p. 428). <sup>41</sup>Coker, *op. cit.*, p. 164. <sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 165. <sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 166. <sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 170. <sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 169.

which were to be found in Spencer's writings, though he devoted more time to an elaboration of the latter.<sup>46</sup> Society to Fouillée was thus a "contractual organism"—both a natural and an artificial product.<sup>47</sup>

IN pointing out in the first place the similarities between society and the organism Fouillée enumerates five characteristics which are common to society and an organism. They are: concurrence of dissimilar parts; a systematised structure allowing a functional distribution of members; organic vitality of the constituent elements; spontaneity of movement; and an exemplification of the processes of development and decay. In his proof of his position he follows Spencer closely.<sup>48</sup>

HOWEVER, there are some important qualifying differences between society and an organism. In the first place, the social organism alone has the quality of "inner finality," or, in other words, only in the social organism do the constituent elements recognise each other and co-operate to promote the common end of their organic composite.<sup>49</sup> The main bonds in society are psychic, resting upon the sympathy of the members and the pleasure in the association of like members. Again there is, strictly speaking, no social brain. While the scientists, philosophers, and rulers in a society may offer a close analogue to a social brain, there is no single and separate social consciousness.<sup>50</sup> Fouillée's emphasis of the absence of a social sensorium is perhaps the most characteristic mark of his theory of the social organism. Finally, Fouillée includes within his conception of the social organism the element of conscious volition. "In fact at what moment does an assemblage of men become a society in the true sense of the word? It is when all the men conceive, more or less clearly, a type of organism which they can form through uniting themselves, and when they do effectively unite themselves under the determining influence of that conception. We have thus an organism which exists because it has been thought and wished, an organism born of an idea; and since that common idea involves a common will we have a . . . contractual organism."<sup>51</sup>

FOUILLÉE based his political doctrines upon this dual conception of society. Government must be an art which takes into account the nature of the social organism. The legislator must always be aware of the interrelation of the different parts of the social organism and even refrain from attempting to improve one part if such action will be accompanied by the infliction of a greater injury upon the remaining parts.<sup>52</sup> No comprehensive plan of social reform should be undertaken unless some general social movement and organisation of public

<sup>46</sup>Other pertinent works of Fouillée are *L'ÉVOLUTIONNISTE DES IDÉES FORCES*, Paris 1898; and *PSYCHOLOGIE DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS*, Paris, 1898.

<sup>47</sup>This is essentially the attitude of De Greef on this point.

<sup>48</sup>Coker, *op. cit.*, p. 181. <sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 182. <sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 187 (Fouillée, *op. cit.*, Edition 1888, p. 115). <sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 188.

opinion has indicated the necessity of such reform and the direction it should take. Moreover, a comprehensive scheme of social reform should conform to the wishes of at least a majority of the society, and all changes should be made as gradually as possible so as to conform to the general laws of evolution. Revolution, however, may be at times unavoidable to remedy persistent long-standing social evils, but any revolution should be a manifestation of the general will of society and should promote the general welfare of the society as a whole.<sup>53</sup> Fouillée thought that Spencer trusted too much to the automatic action of social organs and, for his part, maintained that society might successfully undertake directive social reconstruction. The state itself might be regarded as the system of directive organs in society.<sup>54</sup>

#### G. RENÉ WORMS (b. 1869).

ANOTHER French scholar, René Worms, is perhaps the most extreme exponent of the organic school among the French adherents of that variety of sociology.<sup>55</sup> Worms defines society as "an enduring aggregation of living beings, exercising all their activity in common."<sup>56</sup> Worms finds four characteristics which pertain to both society and an organism: their external structures are variable in time and irregular in form; their internal structures are undergoing constant changes through assimilation and integration, and disassimilation and disintegration; there is a co-ordinated differentiation among their parts; finally, both have the power of reproduction.<sup>57</sup> He proceeds to develop the organic conception of society under the heads of the anatomy, physiology, origin, development, classification, pathology, therapeutics, and hygiene of society, all of these topics being treated in technical biological nomenclature.<sup>58</sup> Not only does Worms develop the organic concept at great length and with real precision, but he also offers a long refutation of the conventional objections to the doctrine.<sup>59</sup>

His final conclusion is that while there is a "very profound and close analogy between society and the organism," still there is not an identity of nature.<sup>60</sup> The bond which unites social elements is primarily psychic while the bonds of union in an organism are material. Again, society is more plastic, adaptable, and better able to replace a loss of its members.<sup>61</sup> Finally, society is more complex in its constitution than the organism; it is a "super-organism."<sup>62</sup>

As to the state, that is a high form or expression of society—one which has become conscious of its unity and has attained a degree of

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 188-9. <sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>55</sup>Worms' main ideas on this subject are to be found in his work, *ORGANISME ET SOCIÉTÉ*, 1896; and in the *ANNALES DE L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE*, Vol. IV., 1898, pp. 296-304.

<sup>56</sup>Coker, op. cit., p. 171. <sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-4. <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 177. <sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-6. <sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 177. <sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 177-8. <sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

personality.<sup>63</sup> It is "a being having its own life, distinct from that of its members, though resulting from it; so distinct and superior that it at times demands the sacrifice of some one of those subordinate existences, and almost always obtains it."<sup>64</sup> From this conception of the state several deductions may be made in regard to political conduct. Radical individualism is to be condemned as opposed to the essential nature and purpose of the state.<sup>65</sup> Since society is subject to the laws of evolutionary development any utopian idea of progress and reform is prohibited as not taking into account the natural laws and stages of development.<sup>66</sup>

LILIENTFELD, Schaeffle, Fouillée, and Worms, together with Spencer constitute the classical biological-organic school. As a development of the conception of the vital unity and organisation of human society this school emphasised an important proposition in sociological theory, but as an explanation of social processes or an attempt to understand the basic principles of social causation their contributions were of little value. In short, it may be said that they presented but one essential approach to sociological theory, and that they expended a degree of effort and elaboration upon it which was disproportionately greater than the results obtained.<sup>67</sup> As to their theory of the state the later writers all diverged from Spencer's individualism and tended towards an adulation of the state.

H. E. BARNES.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 179 (Worms, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 180. For Towne's treatment of Worms see *op. cit.*, pp. 61-66.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'ÉTAT MODERNE ET SES FONCTIONS*, pp. 27ff.



SOCIOLOGY AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: by the  
Rev. W. Rowland Jones.

No one can deny that the Churches of this country have, for all practical purposes, stood outside those modern movements which make for social betterment. It is true that within this century there has been a marked tendency among clergymen to study social questions, especially in the light of Christ's teaching. A tendency among a few must not, however, be mistaken as the policy of the whole. The awakened social consciousness, in so far as it has touched the Church, must be regarded as a river in flood-time. It overflows its banks and merges many a stagnant pool in its neighbourhood. When the river becomes normal (and therefore most serviceable) the pools become pools again and are stagnant.

FURTHER, no one can deny that the group movements for social betterment and for the study of sociological questions (the rise of which has been so prolific within the last hundred years) have, for all practical purposes, taken up their stand outside the pale of Organised Religion. No doubt they are permeated, and in some cases definitely inspired by religious men and religious ideals, but they cannot be identified with any of the Churches. Here again, the river, growing in volume and flowing with increased power, naturally follows the lie of the land left by centuries of geological and geographical causes. The river, however, is greater than its bed, and although depending in many things upon it, cannot be identified with it. No individual to-day, and therefore no group of individuals, can isolate himself from religious atmosphere and the religious impulse of the past. We are permeated through and through with them, and even those modern movements which definitely abjure religion (for example, the Social Democrats of France and the Russian Bolsheviks) cannot fully rid themselves of the remnants of religious heritage.

WHAT of the future? Are our social science societies and social groups likely to move further and further away from organised religion, carving out for themselves a substitute for religion in an amorphous amalgam of psychology and sentiment? And are our Churches likely to be dominated by the majority within her to-day, which wants to keep religion in a watertight compartment, and which confuses sociological study with party politics? The answer to both these queries is "Yes" if we are to judge from the prevailing tendencies in our Churches and Social Groups to-day. If we are content to allow the answer to be "Yes," if we are satisfied to see this divorce between Sociology and Religion completely carried out, we are convinced that it will lead to the disintegration of both.

THE ideals for which many sociologists yearn, and for which, in particular, a certain group within the Sociological Society stands are inherent in the Catholic parochial ideal. Whether that ideal was ever an established fact in our English parishes in the middle ages is open to question. Our modern medievalists are inclined to imbue the real and historical with their own ideals and then use the results as a historical argument for the propagation of the ideal. Without pretending for a moment that it was ever actually accomplished, let us sketch the ideal Catholic parish as we imagine it could have been, and probably was, in many a medieval English parish.

At the centre of the parish, in position and in thought, dominating place and folk, and sanctifying work and art, stands the Parish Church. It is the great common home of the community who live around it. At least every Sunday morning the folk of the parish meet in Church, to engage in an act of worship, the Mass—in which the great central act of sacrifice is beautified by the works of art and the rhythmic movements of the parish-folk. The Mass is the centre of worship. Without entering into theological arguments as to whether this service is God-ordained or man-made, without even considering theories of transubstantiation or consubstantiation, it cannot be questioned that the Service of the Mass contains in a unique way, all that is highest and noblest in worship. Surrounded, as it is in this ideal parish, with art and music, rhythm and movement, penitence and praise, it becomes the crowning and unifying act of family worship among a folk where lives are brought together by toil and environment.

THE religion of the folk does not, however, end with a Sunday Service. Every morning the ringing of the Church bell, falling on the ears of work-folk and fieldsmen beginning their labours, reminds every member of the family of his dependence upon his brother and his God. Mass is being offered up by the "Father" of the Parish, assisted by the few whose occupations permit, and thus each new day begins with the renewing of earthly ideals and heavenly aspirations.

MORE than that, the work of the folk is made a religious act. The medieval Guild was no merely secular Union for sectional interests. The Trade Guilds were essentially religious organisations in which the duty of charity and unselfishness was brought under the inspiration and regulation of religion.

MEDIEVAL Christianity in England was essentially co-operative and democratic. Folk, Work and Place (if we may use the terminology of Le Play) were held together by the mystic bond of the Catholic Faith.

PATRICK GEDDES, in a recent article (THE MAPPING OF LIFE, SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, July, 1924) puts forward the ideal of modern

sociologists, with its now familiar unifying of Place, Work and Folk, and its co-relation of studies embracing Geography, Economics and Anthropology as well as its further fusion of Sense, Experience and Feeling in a unified whole, and by a skilful line of argument shows that this ideal is none other than the Grecian ideal of Parnassus—home of the Nine Muses. We suggest to Patrick Geddes that in his next article he might show with equal exactitude and even more convincing similitude, that the ideal of the modern sociologists, is the Medieval Catholic Ideal of Religion,—neither more nor less.

FOR consider. The whole upshot of our sociological ideals—dropping technicalities—amounts to this. There must be a unifying element in the life of the individual and in the life of the community. The dry bones of science, must be given flesh and blood by being brought out of the laboratory and library and quickened on the soil of mother-earth. Toil must be made divine, by being related to ideals; art and music and poetry must be made democratic by being taken out of the concert halls and picture galleries, until they become the web and woof of daily lives. Mind and matter, dreams and deeds, labour and longing, must be wedded, growing more alike in a mystical married union.

THIS is none other than the Catholic ideal, set forth in Sacrament, and practised in our ideal medieval parish. For the Catholic who truly believed it, and whole-heartedly practised it, no part of day or night was free from sacredness, but his whole life, in every step, whether it led to the workshop or the parish church, to the field or to the Mass, was fellowship with God.

ALL this, of course, was changed by the Reformation. The legislation of the Reformation Parliament, which came to an end in Henry VIII.'s twenty-fifth year, entirely altered the constitution of the Church in this country. To say that the Church lost her limbs would be too slight a figure; it would be nearer to say that she lost her soul, for it is impossible to read the history of the subjugation of the Church and its clergy to a tyrant and adulterous king, impossible to recall the calm acquiescence of the Church and clergy in such tyranny, without a burning shame and a furious indignation against those who were leaders of religion in their day.

THERE was born a Church, no longer under the control of the clergy, but under the control of the king. The new "Pope" of the Church, the new and self-appointed "Father" of his people, was to be the Sovereign, and there is no doubt that Henry meant to use his new power to the full. For example, Henry compelled Parliament to pass the Treasons Act,—the new Pope's new Inquisition—by which a man's secret thoughts were to be disclosed and investigated, for it was enacted that "if any man do maliciously wish, will, or desire, by

word or by writings, or by craft imagine " anything against the king he is liable to be put to death.

HENRY'S next blow at the Church and indirectly at the people was the pillage of the monasteries between 1529 and 1539. Contrary to the false reports from Henry's commissioners, the monasteries themselves were valued possessions of the people. The poor, the sick, and the aged rarely sought help from the monks in vain ; whatever medical knowledge existed was found in the monasteries and was dispensed to the folk, not in return for a heavy fee or an insurance card, but for the love of Christ, and His brothers, the sick. If there were those who could not come to the abbey gates but were confined to their homes by incurable diseases, pensions were provided for them, free from poor-law stigma. Free education was given by the monasteries, and if a poor man had to take a long journey he always knew that rest and sleep and refreshment awaited him at the monastery door.

ALL this was changed by the King. Upon a general indictment, largely untrue, the monasteries were dissolved, and their wealth went to swell the king's coffers. About £80,000 annually (in modern currency) found its way to the king's purse. It was plunder, not so much of the Church's wealth, but of the heritage of the common people. The monasteries were regarded as the trustees of the people's rights, and the monks (except in rare and inevitable cases) were faithful stewards.

THUS the Church became the slave of the King. It is significant that during this period arose our modern Capitalist System and our modern method of Foreign Diplomacy. It may be said that Capitalism, European Diplomacy, and the " reformed " Church of England, grew up together as brothers and sisters. Capitalism was the " big brother," whom the growing lad—the Church—idolised and obeyed.

HERE is the obvious, historical explanation of the modern fact that there is a sharp cleavage between the Church and modern advanced sociological movements. The aspirations of the practical sociologist, whether he admits it or not, are largely the ideals of the medieval Catholic. His ideals can never flourish so long as Capitalism is the basis of society, and individualism the basis of effort. Generally speaking, the best description of the Reformation is that it was the period in which Europe in general, and England in particular, passed from corporate-ism (communism in the true and non-political sense) to individualism. The Church of England is steeped in this spirit, and all modern sociological movements leading away from this standpoint, are anathema to the Established Church.

THERE is, however, the awakening of a new spirit within the Church of England, which will eventually seek a *rapprochement* with advanced

sociological movements. Its aim is three-fold—to break away from the commercial and class standards and domination within the Church itself, to reclaim for the people all that is best in Catholicism and Protestantism, and to act as the unifying element among the sciences, fusing Place, Work, and Folk with the dynamic of a truly catholic Religion.

THIS movement, at present, is undefined and unorganised. It is not the Anglo-Catholic movement, which is rapidly becoming identified officially with the non-sociological point of view already established in the Church, and is in danger of missing the ideal of true catholicism by spelling it always with a capital letter. Nor will it be identified—like one or two sociological movements within the Church—with a political party. It is far more likely to remain undefined and unorganised, in the hope of permeating, on the one hand, the Church, and on the other advanced sociological movements.

THE ideal will be to apply, according to modern conditions, the spirit and the letter of idealistic Catholicism.

It will be neither medieval nor reactionary, nor revolutionary. All the time, and in every way, it will seek, from a religious point of view, and with a religious dynamic, the unifying of life and the syncretion of science, religion and sociology. Such descriptions are necessarily vague, because it is always difficult to describe an ideal. The work of this movement, however, will not be vague. It may be hidden and silent like the leaven, but it will lead eventually to the wedding of Religion and Sociology, which, separated, can only hope to be scattered fragments of that whole which, united, and unified, they may become.

W. ROWLAND JONES.

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#### THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS OF LIVING RELIGIONS.

UNEXPECTED difficulties arose in the way of publishing the proceedings of this Congress as announced in the October issue of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. These difficulties have been overcome by compressing the whole proceedings into a single volume. It has been edited by Mr. W. Loftus Hare, and will be published by Messrs. Duckworth. A Prospectus of this volume with full lists of contents is sent with the present issue of the *REVIEW*. It will be seen that the price is 16s., as against the previous announcement of two volumes at 10s. each. Those members of the Society who under the old arrangement made application for the *Sociological Volume* at 10s. will thus be enabled to get the whole proceedings in a form which includes all the sociological papers. Those who do not themselves wish to use the Order Form attached to the Prospectus will perhaps, like to hand the Prospectus on to any one who might be interested, and especially to Librarians.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### AGRARIAN POLICY IN SOVIET RUSSIA.\*

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS has put us all under a real obligation in these days of talk about the condition of Russia, of which so much is inspired by prejudice and which it is so difficult to check or verify, by publishing in its Autumn number (October-December, 1924) an article of first-rate importance on AGRARIAN POLICY IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by M. Tcherkinsky, the result of careful study by the writer at the International Labour Office at Geneva of the extensive documentation on Soviet Russia there collected. In view of the general interest aroused by the Report of the Labour Party on Soviet Russia, and of the unavoidable gap in this Report, which does not deal in detail with the condition of the Peasantry, this account should be of special value at the present time. It contains a mass of figures which show the failure of the communistic policy now reversed by Lenin's introduction of the "New Economic Policy," March 21, 1921.

THE communistic policy treated the peasants as having no right to more than a bare subsistence. All produce above this had to be handed over to feed the towns. The output of manufactures from the towns was so small that there was practically nothing for the peasants in return. The general result of the communistic policy was a decline of over two-thirds in the amount of produce which the peasant farmers produced for the market and a destruction of the live stock. The peasants no longer attempted to buy from the towns but fell back on home manufactures. See the following table:

TABLE IX. AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS IN THE PEASANT FAMILY, ESTIMATED IN GOLD ROUBLE VALUES.

	Pre-war.	1919 to 1920.	Proportion as compared with pre-war.
			per cent.
Farm machines and implements . . .	1.39	0.15	10.7
Means of transport . . .	0.37	0.10	43.3
Household utensils . . .	0.10	0.02	20.0
Materials for the farm . . .	0.19	0.13	68.4
Building materials . . .	1.49	0.84	56.4
Illuminants . . .	0.60	0.22	36.4
Furniture and kitchen utensils . . .	0.71	0.14	19.7
Ornaments, amusements . . .	0.13	0.07	53.8
Clothes, linen, boots and shoes . . .	9.19	0.69	7.5
Hardware . . .	0.12	0.05	41.7
Foodstuffs, especially sugar and salt . . .	4.05	0.53	13.9
Alcoholic beverages and tobacco . . .	2.53	0.27	10.7
Soap . . .	0.39	0.12	30.7
Stationery . . .	0.05	0.02	40.0
Total . . .	21.31	3.41	15.1

\*THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE which publishes the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS quarterly in English, French, Italian and Spanish, is an international body supported by 70 adhering states. Its headquarters are Villa Umberto I., Rome, where it was inaugurated by the action of the King of Italy in 1905 at the suggestion of an American of Jewish origin and world-wide sympathies, Mr. David Lubin. Its object is to study the conditions of agriculture in the various countries of the world, and also questions concerning agricultural co-operation, insurance and credit, and publish information on all these subjects; further, should occasion arise, to submit proposals for the approval of the various governments. It is supported by practically all the states of the world and has published many



"THUS the peasant holding seemed to slip back into a primitive economic form in which all trade is practically wiped out."

WE must remember that the Russian peasant has always occupied himself with home industries in addition to farming, and that he is not typically an isolated farmer but accustomed to co-operate in a local village community.

THIS table shows the overwhelming preponderance of the rural community (Mir) in Russia.

TABLE X. DISTRIBUTION, EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES OF THE ARABLE LAND UNDER THE VARIOUS FORMS OF TENURE.

	Rural communities.	Soviet estates.	Communes.	Artels.	Isolated farms with dwelling houses.	Isolated farms without dwelling houses.	Land administered by State agrarian authorities.	Land administered by various institutions.
Extreme North . . . .	98.7	0.1	.	0.1	0.3	0.7	.	0.1
Lake Basin . . . . .	68.9	0.7	0.1	0.1	4.0	6.1	20.1	.
Industrial area . . . .	90.7	1.1	0.1	0.3	1.7	2.5	3.2	0.4
Central agricultural area .	90.5	5.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	.	2.6	.
Ural slopes . . . . .	95.8	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.3	1.7	0.1
Lower Volga . . . . .	98.0	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	.
Little Russia . . . . .	90.0	3.0	0.2	0.3	2.1	1.8	2.5	0.1
New Russia . . . . .	82.0	6.8	0.2	0.9	3.5	0.1	6.3	.
South-west . . . . .	93.4	3.6	.	0.1	0.8	0.8	1.3	.
White Russia . . . . .	63.5	2.0	0.2	0.5	20.7	3.8	9.2	0.1
South-east . . . . .	95.4	0.7	0.4	0.3	2.1	0.2	0.8	0.1
Western Siberia . . . .	89.3	1.6	0.4	0.7	0.6	5.8	1.6	.
Eastern Siberia . . . .	96.0	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.4	.	2.3	0.1

BOLSHEVISM in the desire to see all individuals as *poussière d'état* for its centralised state had no liking for the Mir, but the "New Economic Code" of March, 1921, reversed not only the previous treatment of the peasants since the Revolution by restoring their right to their own produce but also the agrarian changes introduced early in the 20th century by Stolypin the Czarist statesman, who wished to substitute individual peasant ownership for ownership by the Mir. Under the "New Economic Policy," while any peasant or group of peasants can withdraw from the Mir at the time of the periodical redistribution of land, each peasant is only allowed so much land as he and his family can cultivate. "Hence we are told 'the typical peasant should now be the man of moderate standing who does not enrich himself at the expense of his neighbours.' On the other hand, we are also told of private arrangements between peasants to the advantage of the 'profiteering' peasant."

BUT in respect of the Mir the "New Economic Policy" is half-hearted. THE position of the Mir under this policy may well be contrasted with the fortunate position of the village community in those parts of Germany

monographs in addition to two quarterlies of which AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS is one. Its most important publication is perhaps the INTERNATIONAL YEARBOOK OF AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS which appeared for the first time in 1912, and contains statistics covering productions and trade for the chief agricultural products. It appears in English and French. It is in short not only a centre of information on agricultural developments of first-rate importance but its work is unique. It is carried on by four Bureaux (1) General Secretariat (2) General Statistical (3) Agricultural Intelligence and Plant Diseases (4) Economic and Social Intelligence, which act in relation to the General Assembly and Permanent Committee.

where it owns the land. Here land falls back into the common stock at the death of each cultivator but not before, so that each has the benefit of his own improvements, and the general average of well-being is maintained at a high level. But the German village community or commune (which corresponds to the Mir) owns not only cultivable land but also Forest and Grazing land, both dedicated to common purposes. Each cultivator has a right to graze so many cattle and has a right to wood both for burning and building purposes from the Forest. These common rights are of considerable value and the common possessions pay the rates and taxes.

It is noteworthy that our author states that at the Revolution the peasants in Russia "had to give up the woodland, which passed to the state." This would appear to have been part of the general policy of weakening the local communal organisation to the advantage of the central administration of the capital city. The possession of forest land must have been of tremendous importance to the Russian village both for building purposes and for fuel, and the fact that the villages now own none must involve a heavy increase of charges in the villages. But presumably data as to this are lacking, for our author merely mentions the fact and passes on. This part of the Bolshevik policy has not been reversed. It seems doubtful, however, whether the Mir can attain to general prosperity until the individualistic idea of the New Economic Policy that each family should have the land it can till is supplemented by the restoration of the traditional communal idea that each rural community should possess all that is needed for its life requirements. At the present time, at least in some parts of Russia, in spite of endeavours to reach such a development "the proportion of the larger farms increases, the figures showing a steady rise until in the case of the large peasant farms the 1922 numbers is practically doubled, being 195 per cent." This figure applies to the Ukraine. The attempt is made to check this profiteering peasant class through "Peasants' Mutual Aid Committees," but as is not unusual with elected bodies the deciding vote we are told "always lies with the very elements they are supposed to check."

On the whole, then, it would appear that the Rural community (Mir) has been reinstated, but under conditions which make its maintenance precarious; on the one hand because the loss of common and Forest rights makes it of less importance to its members, and on the other because the law makes withdrawal from it easy. It is still, however, the vastly predominating system and has the force of custom behind it.

As to the economic position of the peasantry it appears that taxes in 1921-22 (the first year of the New Economic Policy) amounted to 8.9 per cent. of the gross return as contrasted with taxes and rent 8.2 per cent. in 1913, so that in this respect the change for the worse does not seem great. But it must be remembered that this somewhat higher charge is made on a much smaller gross output. Out of all contributions to the state, 71 per cent. we note was paid by agriculture in that year. The gross yield from agriculture in the following year, 1922-23, is found to have been 67 per cent. only of the ante-war yield, while the industrial output had fallen to 20 per cent. of the previous amount. Thus the peasant not only has a less total yield with slightly increased taxation but has very much less that he can buy with his diminished surplus.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the Soviet policy of weakening the village community system, presumably in the interest of the big centres of proletarian influence and above all the capital, we are told that "the interest of the peasants is just now directed rather towards the settlement of small

villages than towards individual settlements," where new settlements are being developed.

In the case of either old or new settlements the peasant is at liberty to choose between various forms of land tenure (1) the village community (Mir) with periodical redistribution of land on a basis of equal shares between the families which make up the village but deprived of its traditional immemorial rights to Forest, &c., (2) a divided share of land with or without a house, (3) membership of an artel sometimes called commune (but the real commune is the Mir) in association for group cultivation of a farm, (4) what is described as the "ill-defined form, varying according to the different kinds of farming practised."

It seems, then, that under the New Economic Policy, which does at least allow the cultivator to have a right to his produce, some economic prosperity is returning to the peasant class, and that a real endeavour is being made to obtain a larger output. How soon this output will attain the pre-war level remains to be seen, and the further question arises as to the probability of Russia again becoming to any extent an exporting country. It seems too early to reach any conclusion on the latter head.

It is impossible to read this most valuable report, with its figures showing the overwhelming importance of agriculture to Russia, and the importance of the peasant class compared to all other classes, without feeling that the future of Russia is with the peasants and that the proletariat of the manufacturing towns can have but a precarious hold over these possessors of the real resources of the community, though they may endeavour to divide and impoverish them. If prosperity returns to the peasant under the New Economic Policy we can hardly suppose that he will for ever submit to "dictature" in the interests of a comparatively small and remote class. Rather, eventually, we can but believe he will set up a peasant state, a renewed civilisation.

S. B.

#### LORD AVEBURY.\*

It would be hard to imagine a more perfect expression, than the first Lord Avebury, of the Renaissance ideal of Gentleman and Scholar. The complementary qualities of this historic type came out vividly during the Sociological Congress of 1906, for that event fell within Lord Avebury's presidentship of the Sociological Society. He received our guests with a charming dignity, entertained them with courtly hospitality, and made an opening address which exhibited the graces of learning and the powers of statesmanship. His place in the world of social studies had already received wide recognition, for, when the Institut International de Sociologie was formed in 1893, he was chosen its first president. It was therefore peculiarly fitting that the 1906 Congress of that Institute should be held in London, as Lord Avebury in that year succeeded Lord Bryce in the presidentship of the Sociological Society.

In the commemorative work recently edited by Mrs. Grant Duff, his daughter, it is pointed out that the book is not a biography. It is an estimate of Lord Avebury's work and influence from seven different points of view: one political, one educational, and five scientific. This very marked emphasis on his contributions to science is certainly justified to the reader, not only by the vivid presentation of the story, but because his

\*THE LIFE-WORK OF LORD AVEBURY: Edited by the Hon. Mrs. Adrian Grant Duff. Watts & Co.

scientific researches brought to him a keen joy which he was himself able to communicate to others, with unusual completeness. For it still irradiates these pages of chronicle—the latest enthusiastic tribute of his fellow-workers. We are here introduced anew to the personality of John Lubbock, that he may once more take us by the hand and show us the traces of our remote ancestry by Thames and Somme, the ways of the ant, bee and wasp, the intelligence of his dog, the glories of hills and mountains. Such things as these were likely to be the absorbing interests of the man who when a tiny child asked "Where do burnt things go to?" and, a little later, resolved to travel to find out "every plant and animal and what lives at the bottom of the sea."

EDUCATION at Eton in the forties was powerless to assuage the hunger and thirst in this boy's mind. Even foreign languages and arithmetic were "extras" then at Eton—the only break in the Latin and Greek lessons being one lesson a week in geography, and that mainly the geography needed for classical study. It is therefore not at all surprising that Lord Avebury's devoted work for reform in English education was directed towards the introduction of science teaching in every sort and kind of school.

THE chapter on his educational work is thus seen as a direct corollary to his scientific work. But throughout his life his concentrated unwearying work in scientific research was all carried on in his leisure time; it was all pleasure, not duty. The main duty which presented itself to young John Lubbock, from the early age at which he left Eton, was to assist his father to carry on a great banking business. From his father he learned to put duty, and in due course public service, first in life; and he also inherited from him most unusual powers of steady perseverance, and of work for long days and hours at everything which he wished to do. These powers, with his other inheritances—excellent health, a serene temper and remarkable brains—combined to mould a character and personality that was destined to leave its mark in many diverse chronicles of the history of the nineteenth century in England. Richly endowed, he gave himself ardently to every sort of service he could compass. He would doubtless have been the first to acknowledge that his privileges and opportunities were those which came to very few. He worked very hard in the Bank, obviously: but what ordinary young Bank clerk would have been able to attend British Association meetings from the age of 19, and each year to spend weeks in Scotland, France or Switzerland carrying out the researches that absorbed him so utterly?

FROM the scientific point of view, the most wonderful opportunity in John Lubbock's life was his intercourse with Darwin, begun at his most impressionable age. The impact of Darwin's mind on the boy's isolated enthusiasm enlisted all the strength of his inherited ideals of hard work and service into what might perhaps have been only work for leisure time. This great event doomed the young man to that ceaseless activity which expressed itself in daily work from 6.30 a.m. till 11 p.m. The only actual reward was that the normal sort of pleasure he would always have had in scientific work was deepened into a great personal happiness, which he longed to share with everybody who could care for science at all, a happiness founded on the worship of truth. Nevertheless from the economic point of view the wonderful opportunity in John Lubbock's career was the possession from the first of ample means to draw upon. How many researchers have the power to go to and fro on the earth as he did, or the power to have any piece of apparatus they devise at once put in hand for construction? There is no doubt he realised this himself very fully: and the whole strength of his social service may be said to have been thrown into the creation of oppor-

tunity and of leisure for others ; because he had been so richly dowered with both. This thought seems to be the key to his political work ; which is therefore better described as philanthropic work.

FINALLY, the perusal of this book leaves one with a puzzled recognition of the continuity of science, the discontinuity of politics. Lord Avebury died in 1913 ; a date we now call the end of the old epoch. ANTS, BEES AND WASPS and his other fascinating science books have lost neither their value nor their charm, and require only a few notes, additions and post-scripts to be still current literature : while a perplexed, ungrateful world, struggling with the new after-war problems, says " Bank Holidays, Early Closing, Labour Exchanges, Science teaching in the Schools. Yes, we've got all that—True !— But did he actually urge the reduction of armaments ? Now that *is* interesting ! "

M. McK.

#### COMMUNAL CONTROL OF CREDIT.\*

CREDIT as we have it is a method of regulating the flow of goods whereby it is diverted into certain directions rather than others. Credit is, so to speak, the life-blood of that Price-system which centres on the market, and which concentrates attention on exchange values and market fluctuations rather than on production or consumption. The price-system tends to isolate the market from the life of society. It tends to cut off the market from the traditional purposes of life, and place it under control of those most skilful in the manipulating of prices. Under our current price-system we may be said to pursue the direct opposite of the precept " Seek first the kingdom of heaven and all these things shall be added unto you."

UNDER modern conditions the flow of goods is so constant that the world can no longer be said on the whole to depend upon savings or capital, but rather upon the organisation under which a constant flow of the more perishable goods is maintained so that enterprises of all kinds can be carried through.

The consideration that brings any enterprise within the scope of this life-giving flow is its place in the price-system, for on this depends the profit to be made from the enterprise by its promoters and the credit they consequently enjoy.

UNDER this system the profit of the promoters and financiers is the sole test applied to any enterprise. No ultimate consideration is involved as to the good of the community. Such is the system of *laissez faire*, the assumption being made that if everyone seeks his own profit the community will benefit.

WHEN Adam Smith and the earlier economists wrote we were still living under a system of capital rather than of credit. Communications were difficult and slow, the flow of goods was slower and the accumulation of goods more important. As communications became easier through the 19th century and new parts of the world were developed the importance of credit and capital was gradually reversed, but the change was so gradual that it escaped notice till very recent years. The importance of giving up the system of *laissez faire* as regards credit and the reorganisation of its use for social purposes has been stressed in the publications of the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society (now Cities Committee of Leplay House).

\* A Paper prepared for a Conference on questions of Credit Reform at Swanwick, October, 1924.



It has been pointed out in these publications that Credit, being dependent on the flow of goods and services in the community, should be used in definite accordance with the requirements of the community. But to bring about a change from a system of credit based on profit-making for individuals to one based on the requirements of the community it is clear that there must be a conversion of the heart and will as well as a clearing of the mind.

WE often use, for instance, in this connection, the example of things done successfully in the war, but we are apt to forget that they were done as a result of an internal union brought about by the war against an external enemy. We need to be brought in time of peace to the same flaming heat of goodwill to our fellow-countrymen before we begin to consider the problem of what are the objects towards which the flow of credit can best be determined.

BUT when we have obtained the conversion of heart and will all is by no means done. We have to survey the resources at our disposal and the conditions with which we have to deal in this country far more fully and carefully than has yet been done, so that we may come to the consideration of the credit problem with informed minds. We have to consider the results on health and happiness of developing industries, the need for maintaining a balance between town and country, the results of not doing so, the question of foreign trade, the problem of the food supply, and so on.

Two important questions will then arise :

- (1) What types of person, association and institution tend to be selected for survival under our present system ?
- (2) What types should be selected under a better system ?

IT will be found when such surveys are really carried through that we are in a much better position to understand what are the defects in modern civilisation and to see how they may be remedied—not by Acts of Parliament which are merely general, but by definite plans made in accordance with the needs of each locality, and carried through by the use of the credit of that locality, supplemented where necessary from the resources of other parts of the country. I have said in the synopsis before you that the object is to build up satisfactory local communities. If you come to think of the meaning of this, you will perhaps say at first this is a truism, for satisfactory communities must be local—they cannot be anything else. But if a truism it is one constantly overlooked in a political age. We are constantly told of the wonderful results of "progress," results that are to be admired in spite of the actually wretched mean and miserable conditions of any modern community that we can observe. We are led to turn away from the actual study of human life as it is lived to vague considerations about the general use of electric light or the great development of motor traffic, without going into the sordid details of who uses the electric light or benefits by the motor traffic.

BUT the survey method will bring our minds back from these cloudy generalisations to the consideration of the objects for which credit is required in our own town or district, and the answer to this will depend upon the ideal of human life which we have formed. That is to say it will depend upon our religion, and whether that religion has been able to unify in our minds the best of the great culture traditions of Israel and Greece, so that we can form and use for our guidance an ideal of the sacred city, of which our own city wherever it may be is to be a representation, and of that countryside of the golden age which our hills and vales ought to reflect.



WE need for this task of organising the credit system to be idealists before we can be realists and all the time.

ONLY in relation to definite objects depending upon such a renewed and renewing ideal is it worth while to raise this all pervasive but yet elusive subject of credit. In dealing with it we are dealing with the very foundations of society, as we know it on the economic side, and it is these foundations that require reconsideration. But that reconsideration cannot and should not be made on economic ground alone, and I believe that it never is. Those who attack the credit system and those who defend it alike are moved sub-consciously by other than intellectual reasons. Their sympathies are on the one side or the other in the class-struggle which our social system involves. It is well, therefore, to inquire into these hidden complexes, to bring out boldly these larger motives and to admit that without attaining agreement in sociology we cannot expect to be agreed on such subjects as social credit.

BUT meantime there are certain directions in which agreement may be assumed, and among these is prominent the need for this country at the present time to develop its rural life. But in whatever ways this is to be done, the need for dealing with the Housing question in rural districts remains urgent. It is obvious, therefore, that if an example of the new use of credit be sought a better example than Rural Housing can hardly be taken. During the Reconstruction period the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society worked out in detail the conditions under which social credit could be safely and efficiently applied to this problem, and the scheme was published as an appendix to A BANKER'S PART IN RECONSTRUCTION. This appendix was reprinted in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW of April, 1924. It is summarised in a letter published in the September issue of NEW STANDARDS, from which I will quote :—

"THE point of view taken is briefly that, since credit depends upon the flow of goods and energies, the community has a claim upon what is its own creation. Further, that many operations of social value are left undone because they might not 'pay' in the sense of making a considerable return to capital, while enterprises are preferred which will bring the highest return apart from their social utility. Rural Housing is an excellent example of an enterprise of high social utility left undone because it does not pay. At the present time it is proposed to meet this difficulty by a specially high subsidy to a limited number of rural districts, but in the opinion of many best qualified to judge, this will not meet the case. High subsidies are not greatly objected to in 'the city,' since they involve the raising of loans from the city, but these loans involve a heavy burden on the nation. The alternative method suggested is to use the facilities for issuing Treasury Certificates instead of Treasury Notes, but interchangeable for Notes, if and when required, under the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1914, and Amending Act. It is proposed that such Certificates be issued to Banks for creating credit to be used by Rural Public Utility Societies. The cottages built by such credit are to be inalienable, while any of the currency Certificates issued to the Banks remain uncanceled. The operation therefore results in a few months' time in the creation of ultimate products (cottages) of equivalent value, and these are 'dismarketed' during the currency of the credit.

"THE Bank Credit thus created would be cancelled yearly, as repayments were made, by arrangement between a Committee of Bankers and the Treasury, or possibly used for some other public purpose.

"THE Bankers are required to exercise discretion in the use of the new deposits as a loan fund, to avoid inflation.

"THIS method could also be applied to the rehousing of slum dwellers and for other purposes of social utility. The Local Authority might for such a purpose finance Building Guilds in this way if the Treasury would issue on their behalf the necessary Certificates. What prevents such developments? Not the existing law, but the state of our minds in refusing to consider seriously what new methods involve."

THE real question is, are we really intending to bring about a new order? because if so, sooner or later, we shall be driven to the consideration of Communal Control of Credit.

SYBELLA BRANFORD.

## SIR JAMES MACKENZIE.\*

LIKE other elderly men, I have known in the course of my life many a physician; and some of those whom I have known, and who have helped me on my way, have been famous men. Warburton Begbie attended me in many a childish ailment; I remember, as though it were yesterday, his beautiful face, which was known and loved from one end of Scotland to the other. Matthews Duncan was my first acquaintance in this world, I believe (I had it only on hearsay, but he confirmed it long afterwards). Many men and more women live to remember his sturdy figure, his rough manner, his great heart; he brought wide learning, deep insight and something of genius to advance and dignify the oldest and not least beneficent branch of his profession. Lauder Brunton also I knew from my boyhood to the end; he inherited and upheld the spirit of Christison and MacLagan, he never wearied of research, he was the very type of the scientific physician. Of Clifford Allbutt, who has so lately left us, what can I say in a word? I hardly know whether he was best as scholar, teacher or physician; he was all these to perfection—and he was perfect as a friend. Sir James Mackenzie was probably a greater man than any one of these. It is hard to forecast his place in medical history and tradition; but his fame seems likely to increase rather than to diminish, and his brethren, who can best judge, believe that his name will be enrolled with those of Bright and Stokes and Graves and Addison and Sydenham.

MACKENZIE was a great "heart-specialist"; but his peculiar credit and reputation are due to the fact that he was a great deal more. Years ago a distinguished scientific man, one moreover who had been trained as a physician, said to me that if he were ever very ill, no matter what his malady might be, Mackenzie was the man for him. I had good reason to remember and new reason to appreciate the saying when a little daughter of mine was grievously ill of pneumonia a couple of years ago; and when Mackenzie, whose own health had even then begun to fail, came again and again to attend her. He made no pretence of more than empirical knowledge, he told us (what I knew too well), that of this disease scientific medicine knew no more than a hundred years ago; but he watched the child as tenderly as though she had been his own, and he saw clearly and confidently, a little while before the other doctors did, the first indications of recovery.

FOR eight-and-twenty years Mackenzie lived the laborious life of a general practitioner in the town of Burnley. I saw an old photo of him there the other day—a tall, spare youngish man, in tall hat and black morning-coat, sitting bolt upright in a little old-fashioned victoria by a humble doorway in a mean street. He looked a very different figure there from the burly, bearded, broad-shouldered rough-clad man whom we knew in later years. But the drudgery of his daily rounds never exhausted Mackenzie's energies, and the routine of general practice in a working-class town never narrowed but only enlarged his outlook.

WRITING as a layman, and to laymen, I can give but the briefest, most imperfect, sketch of Mackenzie's place in medicine—as it appears to me.

\* Professor D'Arcy Thompson will no doubt permit us to add to his *logs* of Sir James Mackenzie a note calling attention to the sociological implications of Mackenzie's initiative in setting up a new type of institute within that field of Preventive Medicine, where the medical and the social sciences meet and intermingle. As it seems to us the new Clinical Institute, if it can be continued and developed as Mackenzie hoped and planned, will demonstrate an increasingly sociological view of Public Health.—Editors, SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

He had that faith in the progress of knowledge which moves away mountains of ignorance. He knew that no discovery, however beautiful, is ever perfect, but that each serves as a stepping-stone towards a place of still clearer vision ; he was determined from the very first to push ahead, for all his talents might be worth, in the path of progress.

AFTER much deliberation he chose the heart as the special object of his enquiries ; the field was, as things go, a limited one, the mechanisms involved were simple, or at least conceivably so ; the disturbances or pathological conditions were very numerous, and their clinical interest and importance were immense. Moreover, the paths of experiment and demonstration were already opened up. For thousands of years physicians had felt the patient's pulse, and drawn their empirical deductions therefrom ; Laennec's stethoscope had given audible witness of the action of the valves, and the sphygmograph had given visible record of the pulsations. But Mackenzie's instinct was always to follow on, to follow up, to put two and two together, to find that interest in things taken in conjunction which they lack when they are viewed apart. In Harley Street the specialist diagnoses the symptoms of the moment, but among his old patients in Burnley, Mackenzie took note, for years together, of every gradual change in physical condition, from the first sign of trifling irregularity. It was the old motto of *Principiis obsta*, with a notable extension.

THE sphygmograph had traced the pulse-beat at the patient's wrist, but Mackenzie felt that such evidence should not stand alone. A simple mechanical device (the so-called "polygraph") enabled him to trace simultaneously the pulse of the radial and the carotid artery, of the apex of the heart itself, in short, to observe the progress of the wave from any one part of the circulation to another ; so, once again, he "put two and two together." Though he seldom had (as he tells us) a whole clear hour to spare, he found time to study by such means as these a multitude of altered rhythms and other functional derangements, changes brought about artificially by drugs, or induced by infectious disease, or attendant on general ill-health, or inevitably accompanying old-age. The anatomists had not been idle, but had added important facts to our knowledge of the heart's structure. All these Mackenzie seized upon, especially on a certain muscular band, the "bundle of His," which runs from auricle to ventricle ; he used it not only to explain the normal sequence of contraction, but also to show how, under conditions of depression, the ventricle may lag behind. A great mass of such studies were published in 1902, while Mackenzie was still at Burnley, in a book entitled *THE STUDY OF THE PULSE* ; it was soon translated into German, and was one of the first foundation-stones of Mackenzie's world-wide reputation. But even this book was only preliminary ; Mackenzie had a greater triumph when he went over from Burnley to Toronto in 1906, and addressed a very distinguished gathering at a meeting of the British Medical Association. His special theme there was what is known as "heart-block" ; and when he had described his clinical experience, his methods of diagnosis and observation, his interpretation of the phenomenon, his conclusions as to causes and consequences of the condition, his hearers felt that all their text-books were left behind and that a prophet had spoken to them, not as the scribes.

In 1907, when he was about fifty-four years of age, Mackenzie came to London to engage in consulting practice. He began (as he once told me) with fifteen patients, and the following year he had two thousand. In 1908 he brought out his great work, *THE DISEASES OF THE HEART*, which has

passed through many editions and been translated into several languages. His reputation was world-wide, and his right to it was undisputed. Honours came without stint, his Fellowship of the Royal Society, his Knighthood, his Physicianship to the King, and many more; in a very few years he earned more than he needed or desired. Soon after the war he felt he had toiled enough, he wanted time for thought and quiet study, and he chose St. Andrews for his new home. He was a great figure here, as he strode about our windy streets or played his game upon the links; and his broad chest seemed built to resist even such east wind as ours—he called ours the finest climate in the world. But ere long, alas, the most grievous of all heart ailments, the dread malady of Angina, took hold of him—the malady of which the great John Hunter died, and which Mackenzie had so often helped to palliate; it has happened over and over again for a great physician to be defeated at last by that enemy which he has done most to keep at bay. A book on *ANGINA PECTORIS* was the last of his more important publications.

MACKENZIE had fully five years of quiet work in St. Andrews, where he founded the Clinical Institute which had been his dream for years before. He had no wish to place it in a larger town, where the number of patients might be overwhelming; he found here a little band of brethren and disciples to work with him and to sit at his feet, and there was material ample for them all. His object was to show how clinical medicine should be studied, as he himself had studied it, through long-continued observation, from and even long before the first visible manifestations of disorder; and how general practice might be used for enquiry and research, from which, by the very nature of things, it ought to be inseparable. A favourite theme of his was the importance of the common and so-called simple diseases. These, he said, were the most important of all; he would have had the great physician studying and teaching these in the out-patient department of a hospital, while the junior physician was teaching the fully-developed diseases in the wards. In its short life up to the present the Clinical Institute has done abundant work, of which this is not the place (nor am I the man) to speak; at least, Mackenzie succeeded in showing his younger colleagues that their daily round was a great field of original research and a very mine of potential discovery.

LIKE Abernethy, and many another great physician, Mackenzie was somewhat rough in manner and assertive, even aggressive in speech, but all the while he was one of the kindest and most helpful of men; he loved to talk, and with him to talk was to teach. While he lived here St. Andrews became a place of pilgrimage; there was a steady stream of doctors, young and old, many of them from the United States, who dropped in "just to see Mackenzie!" He received them all with a brusque welcome and simple hospitality; he gave them what they came for, some scrap of personal advice, some hint to remember afterwards, some whiff of inspiration, some infectious germ of his own enthusiasm. They left him, every one, with a profound impression of his genius and his knowledge, his earnestness and his sincerity.

THERE are many distinguished physicians whom we can compare with one another or associate in groups; but Mackenzie stood obviously alone, there has been no one quite like him in our time. I have tried, and have of course failed, to show how and why he was great; but the fact remains that all who knew him, and the world at large, recognised greatness in him.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

## SOME WAYS OF REDUCING SMOKE.\*

ABOUT half of the smoke in an industrial centre is due to domestic fires and about a third is from the chimneys of factories, which latter are nearly always equipped with old type inefficient Lancashire boilers.

KITCHENERS are apparently the worst of the domestic fires, and as gas and electric cookers are now obtainable at reasonable cost, and as a great deal can be done by fitting new houses with central heating, there is really no excuse for so much smoke.

WE require fresh legislation against smoke because the clauses in the present Public Health Act were passed 50 years ago. Huddersfield has recently passed a regulation which makes it an offence to emit any black smoke at any time. In some industrial centres, e.g., Glasgow, offenders are tried by Stipendiary magistrates, who inflict fines in every case.

SMOKE inspectors should be trained engineers who know when and where to look for trouble, able to suggest modifications of plant to overcome difficulties, and who keep themselves fully informed of the rapid engineering developments connected with combustion.

CENTRAL heating is an effective way to stop smoke. Its general use in U.S.A. and Canada (where central heating was forced on the people by reason of the difficulty in getting domestic help to attend to household and office fires, &c., and also because of the strict anti-smoke regulations) leaves many of the buildings in New York, &c., almost as clean to-day as when erected, simply because of the purity of the atmosphere. We could improve London and other large cities if we had better civic spirit as regards smoke prevention.

PUBLIC steam supply for heating large buildings, and for cooking, in the central portions of large cities (e.g., Dresden, New York, Pittsburg), is making rapid strides, and where this is done smoke is much reduced.

SMOKELESS fuel made from bituminous coal is one of the principal ways of doing away with smoke and soot from household fires. It is made by distilling or carbonising coal at a temperature of about 600 degrees centigrade, and this temperature is called "low" because it is about half that used for making metallurgical and gas works' coke. When coal goes into a low temperature retort, it contains about 30 per cent. of volatiles, and comes out under 10 per cent. The rest has been distilled off and treated to secure the bye-products, namely, tars, oils, benzol, ammonia. Some smokeless fuels have only about 5 per cent. of volatiles, and yet they ignite easily and burn in ordinary firegrates with a cheerful radiant heat.

ONE of the first plants for making such fuel at Barugh, near Barnsley, makes about 50 tons of coalite per day, a good deal of which is sent to London. A larger plant is being built at the Digby Collieries, near Nottingham, and the authorities of that city intend to facilitate the sale of smokeless fuel to the citizens and take the gas for municipal supply. The Glasgow Corporation is installing a battery of Maclaurin smokeless fuel producers after much experimenting. Some day it will be a recognised civic duty to encourage the building of such plants near every large city and town, so that citizens can obtain clean smokeless fuel just as they get water and gas.

SUPER electric power stations are going to be a principal factor in eliminating smoke, because the cost of electric energy will come down and have a

\* Summary of a lecture by Mr. Kilburn Scott on METHODS OF ELIMINATING SMOKE, given at Leplay House on February 12th, 1925.



cumulative effect in bringing electricity into universal use. Complete electrification of factories will do away with most of the wasteful smoke producing Lancashire boilers.

STEAM locomotives and "round houses," &c., are responsible for a great deal of smoke; electrification of railways must eventually come in order to enable them to compete with road traffic. Our English railway lines are ideal for it, and the result would be a great increase in cleanliness. The control of railways should pass into the hands of men who understand electrification. At present they are dominated by steam locomotion men who are hopelessly behind.

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PULVERISED fuel-firing is the only certain way of burning raw coal without making smoke, the reason being that when minute particles of coal are mixed with air, they behave as a mechanical gas. Although the method was started in this country fifty years ago, its practical development has been principally in America within the last ten years. The annual consumption is about 25 million tons of coal, of which 8 millions are used in the cement industry; about 6 millions for generating steam in power stations, &c., and the balance in metallurgical furnaces and for locomotives; also plant is under construction to burn an additional 5 million tons, most of it in power stations.

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E. KILBURN SCOTT.



THE SENSE OF SOCIETY.

DEAR SIRS,

I BEG leave, as another life member from the beginning of the Sociological Society, to make some remarks on our President's very interesting address on "The Sense of Society." That address seems throughout to be a struggle with the inadequacy of the human vocabulary as so far developed, and one cannot but be grateful for such a clear statement of the difficulties which some people find in accepting certain terms, in particular the words "liberty" (or freedom), "equality" and "fraternity" in their special political, historical and (may I say?) sociological usage. It may be that in time we shall find better names for what these words mean in this connection; but, in the meantime, two considerations should, I think, be borne in mind with regard to them—firstly, that it is surely legitimate, and quite usual, for each department of study and knowledge to have its own peculiar meaning for some of its terms. Why may it not be so with the social and political use of the words liberty, equality, fraternity, especially when (and this is my second consideration), the words, as is the case here, have the sanction of long usage in what I may perhaps call holy writ and sacred history?

To begin with *fraternity*, or *brotherhood*. This, I take it, is the basis or condition of equality and liberty, as enunciated by the prophets down the ages. Sir Francis objects, "Some men are sisters." One might reply, "Sisters are not men." But, just as I am grateful for the larger use of the word, "men," so I should be more grateful if he would follow Jesus and many others in the larger use of the word "brethren." As it is, I thank him for his description of what is meant by fraternity though he calls it "affinity." But does he really think that the affinity which he has discovered is "of an intensity greater far than is implied in brotherhood" as used by Jesus Christ, the early Christians and many other prophets of truth throughout history? It may be that Sir Francis Younghusband's "affinity" will ultimately prevail and supersede "fraternity" or "brotherhood," but I beg to doubt it. Yet it must be admitted that "brotherhood" has come to be regarded by some as a cant term. I confess that I fight shy of it myself.

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## THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

one denies inequality of dimensions or capacities. No one wants everyone to wear the same size of boots or the same size or pattern of clothes, or to live in the same sized house. But what all are entitled to is a full life according to need and capacity. This is simple justice. "Justice" might be substituted for "equality" in the great formula of the ideal society, but that "equality" is perhaps more plain and precise and has the weight of classic sanction.

PROBABLY the circumstances of the eighteenth century settled the order of the words. But to-day, in face of prolonged antagonism and bitterness, party and industrial strife, and talk of "the class war," perhaps we may usefully reverse the order and adopt as our motto of progress "fraternity, equality and liberty." For all other just claims arise out of this truth of fraternity, even if we call it "affinity," or the unity of life. But, still confronted with disastrous artificial *inequalities*, we shall at our peril ignore the equality view of justice, the claim for a full life for all.

FOR the rest, it seems a pity that Sir Francis should have commenced his address with such a caricature of socialism. It may be that the sort of thing he hints at could be called socialism, but it is not what socialists now generally have in view. And seeing that most of us aim at much that Sir Francis so ably describes as desirable, I suggest that we should for the present be content with words hallowed by good use, and not trouble about altering names till we have gained more of the substance.

SIR FRANCIS urges the value of "the sense or consciousness or feeling of fellowship in a society, the members of which are bound together by a common purpose or a common interest." He calls it "sociality." Now, if that common purpose or interest were a full life for all in the common service of the highest (with "a small house and garden in the country" for all who felt they could in that way best serve the common purpose), we socialists would call it a fraternal and equalitarian society, and would expect it to be or become a socialist, and a free, society. But, whatever the name, I claim Sir Francis as a fellow worker for it.

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

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THE Italian International Institute of Sociology and of Political and Social Reform held a session at Turin during March and April, when the following amongst other subjects were discussed: "The Crisis in Domestic Life," "Social Life in Peru," "The Housing Crisis," "The League of Nations."

## BOOK REVIEWS.

EXPLICATION DE NOTRE TEMPS : by Lucien Romier. ("Cahiers Verts." Bernard Grasset, Paris. MCMXXV. 9 francs.)

IN course of oscillations between London and Paris, and thus with varied contacts with many of their active elements, one may ask oneself and others—what are the distinctive elements of each culture, and how have they arisen? Thus the advantages of the Paris atmosphere over ours, so conventionally repressive and inhibitive, are not simply literary. They are largely conversational, with freer expression, keener criticism and brighter discussion accordingly—so that from all this, the various schools of sociology—Comte's, Le Play's, Tarde's, Durkheim's, and more—are among its most solid precipitates. Nor do they even proceed from necessarily more continental and less insular outlooks. Nor simply from the far older and more diffused academic culture; nor yet from the fuller dramatic and novelistic, poetic and philosophic output, though all these have longer been taken seriously than with ourselves. All are influenced, and even maintained, indeed, more than they commonly realise, by the unending artistic endeavour of this old world-city of highest craftsmanship—from Notre Dame as the Paris Art Exhibition of the year 1200, to that of the present summer; and each alike ranging from great sculpture and painting to the daintiest details of costume. Yet there is a deeper advantage still. For despite the over-urbanisation and metropolisation of Paris, by which France has been too long governed like a conquered country, their effects are in various measure mitigated, for a far larger proportion of the population than with us, throughout well-nigh all classes, who have still substantial contacts with the soil of their country. And this not merely, as in all great cities, from rural origins; but through far more diffused rural property, with its deep influences on the mind. Hence, despite all the metropolitan refinements, even to futilistic elaborations, of luxuries of "conspicuous waste," for the "performance of leisure," and the "acquirement of status" accordingly, which arise in all great cities, but especially in Paris, which has so largely led the others in her wake, this world-wide and world-central urban madness is also often best alleviated, by emergence of the underlying rustic shrewdness of criticism, and breadth of saving common-sense, even at times to rural wisdom—as witness her best sociologists again, and more.

THUS, too, in practical affairs; the solemn futilities and the active frenzies of political debate, both often exaggerated beyond ours, are more fully compensated, in lucid intervals, by the quiet working of non-party committees, agricultural and others; and these expressing the French mind at its intellectual and moral best, both of criticism and construction, in trying clearly to see the thing as it is, and to make it nearer what it should be. BUT the most conspicuous example of the saving value of this deep-working rural leaven is given by the changing attitude of Paris towards the growing movement of Regionalism. For while London has never thought of understanding its provinces, still less Wales or Scotland, which it slumps with them, and of course Ireland least of all, yet in Paris, despite its older and far more ruthless centralisation, from its tax-farming "intendants" of old to its all-inhibiting prefects, each sitting on the head of his department as of a fallen horse never to be allowed to get up—we have now an open arena where regional culture is becoming appreciated, and even renewal seriously considered.

OF such vital qualities, the volume before us is a fresh and bright example; one now being widely read through France, and worth reading through the Britains too, since both informative about our neighbours and suggestive



for ourselves. M. Romier, as his list of previous writings shows, has the advantage of that serious historical culture which is a main glory of Paris studies, for the past half-century especially; though with this also the limitations of well-nigh all historians so far, of too little contact with the advances of sociological thought, and towards interpretation of social changes. Yet from his survey what sociologist may not learn?—for here is an historian keenly sociologizing for himself; and with outlook over the present, appeal to the future. Outlook over France, not merely Paris; appeal to youth, in its after-War perplexities, and not merely to his own contemporaries, hardened anew, as they are everywhere, into their pre-War thought and way. Very conspicuously does this outlook range beyond Paris, and even the great cities, though vivid for each of these: for our author gets behind cities and towns to the rural villages; and these too often dying, to the fundamental weakening of France, even as from the drying of springs to the lowering of rivers.

Of real sociological interest is our author's method and presentment. He begins with the natural conditions of France, yet sees these in historic change, and thus not a little through industrial developments beyond her boundaries; and again by the War. He discusses "the Nation, moving and sedentary"—i.e., the significance of roads, and of villages, of towns and capital: notably and ably stressing the village as fundamental, and its need of revival accordingly; yet reaching onwards to the future of Paris, and its opening from and to the sea. Next a keen discussion of "the psychology of money," through finance, speculation and commerce, saving and generosity. Then public opinion, as "a wandering queen," expressed by education, by woman, and by the press. A chapter on the loss of taste and the decline of the arts is characterised by the thesis that the source of great art is ever to be found in its expression of a philosophy of life. And in this and other connections he sees the need for a "Foi Moderne." In our current lack of ideals, we have "ideologies" instead—witness "civilisation," "nationalism," "democracy," "science"; and with varied personal values, in professions, regions, parties and republic. A remarkable chapter is that on "the State, as guardian without a watchword," and thus treated with pointed criticism, of ministers, administrators, &c., and these viewed officially, yet humanly too. Very significant are the concluding discussions—as of the succession of generations, with their slow rise to power, and their essential chains of tradition, alike gravely disturbed by the War. The volume closes with prognostics as to the reopening future of Europe; a discussion too large for outline here, but rewarding re-reading, since stimulating to thought. Here, then, is a book at once of broad and original intelligence, and of fine moral discernment and appeal: in short, of qualities not only assuring wide success for the present volume, but preparing a widening audience for more to come.

P. G.

**PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP:** by Hayes Baker-Crothers and Ruth Allison Hudnut. (Henry Holt & Co., New York.)

THE problems of citizenship which confront the American citizen are treated in this book in a manner which can best be described, perhaps, as encyclopædic. There is a summary in each case of the historical development of the problem, a review of the contemporary facts, a statement of the "pros" and "cons," and an indication of the probable line of advance. The spirit of liberty and progress breathes throughout the book, but it is only in the case of the Woman Problem that the authors betray strong feeling, and here they are ardently feminist.



WE are accustomed to think that, compared with the problems of the British Empire, those of the United States, with her territorial cohesion, her federal government and her economic unity, must be very simple, but this book makes it evident that the difficulties of the American nation are real enough. We are shown what an enormous task confronts it in such questions as Immigration, Negroes, Newspapers, Women, Industry, Civil Liberty and International Relations. The special value of the book lies in the well-documented examples given of the abuses and maladjustments of the present social order. There is no railing at individuals or groups as if the evils had been deliberately wrought, but a careful study of the conditions out of which these evils have grown and a candid statement of the difficulties which stand in the way of their removal. Moreover, based on a consciousness of the achievements of the past, there is a great confidence in the success of the future. In many ways the book is a model of the scientific method of approach to social problems.

A. J. W.

**LOCAL GEOGRAPHY:** a Guide with Sources of Information: by C. G. Beasley. (Thomas Murby & Co. 1s. 6d.)

THIS excellent little guide is designed for the use of Teachers who wish to introduce more vitality into the study of local geography by adopting the methods of Regional Survey.

TAKING the major natural region of the Homeland as the unit, it deals with the subject under four headings. 1. The presentation of the survey and the natural "heads" under which the information can be collected and arranged. 2. The essential maps and diagrams which each survey should aim at producing. 3. Sources of relevant information. 4. References to work done. IN the order of presentation Physical Geography is dealt with first, and a summary is made of the chief physical factors. Then follow suggestions for the linking up of Physical and Human Geography by means of synthetic maps. The construction of such maps is described in detail and an example, compiled at Briançon at the Leplay House Summer Meeting, is published. Unfortunately the necessary reduction in size, and the modification of the colour scheme for black and white reproduction, has given a result which scarcely does justice to the ideas involved, but which, nevertheless, is worthy of most careful study. Human Geography is summarised under the headings of Industries, Communications, Commerce and The People. THE references of the bibliographical section are numerous, well chosen and entirely adequate for the scheme of Regional Survey as indicated in the work. This bibliography should be of great service to all survey workers, more especially as many of the books named contain extensive subsidiary bibliographies of the special subjects dealt with.

IT would be invidious to criticise too closely the omissions in a work which is manifestly of an introductory nature. It may be suggested, however, that sufficient weight has not been given to the consideration of those historical factors that influence the development of human occupation and settlement in the region, and that a section dealing with these factors and their presentation would add greatly to the value of the book. It must also be remembered that although maps and diagrams are essential methods of regional representation, they are not the only ones and in many cases pictures, photographs, post cards, &c., will interpret the facts more clearly than the map, and we hope that future editions will include sections on the collection and arrangement of such data. One is also struck by the omission of mention of diagrams of the "Valley Section" type which surely should be included in the essential minimum of any survey!

G. M.

**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:** by L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., LL.D.  
(George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1924. 12s. 6d. net.)

THIS, the latest of a series of four volumes, completes Professor Hobhouse's statement of the Principles of Sociology. In the former three he has analysed the relation between the individual and the community (THE METAPHYSICAL THEORY OF THE STATE), the ends of human action (THE RATIONAL GOOD), and the social relations which subserve these ends (THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE). In the present volume he discusses the "actual conditions underlying the life of societies and their bearing on the fulfilment of rational purpose," or, more shortly, the nature and conditions of social development. The series as a whole constitutes an impressive survey of the whole range of social theory, presented by the most distinguished representative of an important school of present-day sociological thought.

THE argument of the present work runs as follows: A brief glance at the growth of communities, from the earliest times to our own, suggests that there is some correlation between social organisation and the growth of knowledge. With this clue in mind, the writer proceeds to attempt an analysis of society, or the community, and finds the criteria of development to consist of advance in Scale, Efficiency, Freedom, and Mutuality of Service. He then examines the conditions under which social development takes place, classifying them as Environmental, Biological, Psychological, and Social in the proper sense. The essential feature of the whole process, it is urged, is the growth of rational will, rather than anything external. In the concluding chapters an attempt is made to trace the development of thought and the development of social organisation, so as to establish a correspondence between them at crucial points. What emerges, therefore, from the whole discussion is that "the development of society in its completeness is conditioned by the available fund of moral wisdom." The will of man is what, in the last resort, counts. It is the true cause of social change. Social change, in fact, is itself but one phase of that cosmic movement, the development of Mind, under conditions which Mind moulds to its own ends.

THE most notable feature of the work is this emphasis on the place of rational purpose or will in human history. "The underlying truth of history is the opening out of the power of mind in man" (p. 314). "The moving force in all development is mind" (p. 335). "There is no tyranny of blind fate over will" (p. 326). The unresting impulse of Mind, contending with or impinging on the limiting conditions of Matter, holds the secret of development; and humanity is far from being "wax to the seal of the environment" (p. 97). There is some intrinsic impulse to progress or development, in Mind itself, and the course of history is to be viewed as the fulfilment of rational will or purpose. "All the significant changes of society are developments of will, or consequences thereof" (p. 326).

ONE cannot but admire the calm, unquestioning faith which thus underlies the position. The facts, it is admitted, are a little disturbing. "On every side," it is recognised, "history presents us not with a balanced movement towards the full development of communal life, but with a diverse multitude of partial advances and countervailing losses which spell eventual arrest, retrogression and decay." In other words, there is no continuous progress revealed by the course of history. But "when the balance is struck something substantial has been achieved" (p. 90). We may not be able to lay our hands exactly on what constitutes the difference between a lower and a higher social order. But our conviction that there *is* a difference remains

unaffected. As if to reassure himself against reflective doubts, Professor Hobhouse reiterates his confession of faith. "In human history as a whole development has occurred . . . We feel that there is growth, and correlated growth, however sadly we may have failed to describe it" (pp. 303-304).

It is perhaps doubtful if sociology should adopt at present a hypothesis of so general a character as this. Admittedly no scientific enquiry can proceed at all without some tentative hypothesis. But one which pre-judges the whole question of social development at the outset is probably to be avoided. It may well be that sociology can at present work fruitfully only in strictly limited regions, and that its hypotheses should be confined to the limited data on which certainty is possible. Regional or cultural analysis, for instance, seems the more natural unit of intensive study.

THIS criticism, however, if examined, goes right to the basis of Professor Hobhouse's general view of sociology. He regards it as a combination of science and philosophy, the former dealing with the bare facts of social life, the latter dealing with the values or purposes which these facts reveal. The two methods of approach must be kept distinct, he urges, but they are both legitimate and essential to a completed sociology (p. 92). It is this view of sociological method, indeed, which is at the root of most of the current controversies on the subject. Is it tenable?

In the form offered here, it seems exaggerated. Value is a concept that lends itself readily to abuse: and the mystical or intellectual trappings with which the concept is so often endowed are, for the most part, relics of what James called vicious intellectualism. The notion that Mind, from some innate and intrinsic property of its own, can pronounce a priori judgments on Value, and that these judgments rest on some abstract standard divorced from actual experience and practice, must be strenuously deprecated. Facts and values are bound up with each other, and all facts which are facts for mind are suffused with value. Value, in the last resort, depends on the standards of human experience, particularly pleasure and pain, and there are no "facts" devoid of the emotional reference which implies value. It may be urged, are not the ravings of an idiot and the play of Hamlet both "facts" for the psychologist, and yet of very different "value"? But the reply is, that the judgment that the one datum is the raving of an idiot already presupposes the judgment of value. As a bare fact or datum it is a physical event, not a psychological process. Value is inseparably bound up with existence in general, and to set up a concept of value divorced from that actual setting of facts or data within which it appears is a sheer abstraction.

THE bearing of this criticism is that sociology should be scientific, in the strictest sense of the term. It should attempt to ascertain the data of social life, and correlate these data in the light of such provisional general conceptions as they suggest. But it must *not* mould its data to conform to some preconceived hypothesis originating in the a priori dictates of rational ethics or Mind. It is the business of *philosophy* to survey the facts of sociology, as of all other sciences, and examine them in the light of ultimate principles, if there are such, and pronounce on the nature of the universe and human life and social development. Sociology proper, if it is to make any progress as a science, must confine itself strictly to the classification and analysis of social facts, and to the formulation, tentatively at present, of general tendencies suggested by these facts themselves.

THIS criticism, of course, is concerned with the broad issue involved in sociology in general: and while one regrets that Professor Hobhouse has

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omitted any reference to sociological enquiries less philosophical than his own, for example, those of Rivers, Perry, Elliot Smith, and even Spengler, one cannot fail to pay a tribute to the amazing wealth of material presented. Students will be grateful for so thorough and exhaustive an analysis, for the stimulating treatment of so great a variety of social topics, and for the passionate conviction that has inspired so vast and sweeping a general conception. The task attempted is almost superhuman: but the present writer, for one, feels that in the whole series now completed, Professor Hobhouse has given to his generation a really outstanding sociological classic.

ONE minor point should be rectified in a later edition, viz., the repetition on p. 81, in substantially the same words, of a footnote on p. 79. The proof-readers, too, have been occasionally remiss, e.g., p. 115, line 30.

ISRAEL LEVINE.

**TALKS ON TOWN PLANNING:** by H. V. Lanchester. (Jonathan Cape Ltd. 4s. 6d. net.)

THIS readable little book should prove a useful contribution to the literature on Town Planning. The author at the outset challenges thought by introducing his subject as one that is of intimate concern to every member of the community, not merely to the Town Planner. The latter, strictly speaking, deals mainly with the provision of the material environment for social requirements; it is the people who might set the standard, whose ideals should inspire his work, and whose co-operation would make possible the effective carrying out of his programmes.

VARIOUS technical matters are dealt with in the book, as, for instance, road construction in relation to traffic, two-level systems, standard density for houses, and park and agricultural zoning. In addition, the writer discusses objections that are commonly levelled at Town Planning schemes—the business man's fear that output will diminish unless he is given an absolutely free hand, and the artist's dismay at the thought that if "everything is to be neatly tidied up" much that is charming will inevitably disappear. These topics lead naturally to a consideration of the sociological basis of Town Planning theories, and such interesting points are raised as the value of the civic and regional survey in giving the broad outlook, the civic responsibility of the property owner, the *causa causans* of Housing Subsidies, and, most important of all, the basic principle that material form is a reflection of economic and spiritual conditions. A "city beautiful" is not the builder's plaything, nor an agglomeration of beautiful buildings, however adequately each may serve the purpose for which it was designed: it is the material embodiment of a considered civic consciousness, of a sane and united striving after conditions in which each citizen is not only free to live as well as his ideals dictate, but encouraged thereto by his surroundings. Wherever the civic sense could be roused, the town planner would have the co-operation of the business man, the artist, and the imaginative thinker; and fitting attention would be paid to securing economic efficiency, artistic design, and regional appropriateness.

TOWN PLANNING is a policy of action: these "Talks" deserve to be widely known, for the practical, attractive and reasoned suggestions in them should do much to evoke interest and thought. If the view of responsibility were more generally adopted, tremendous vitality and driving power would be fused into the schemes for expansion and reconstruction; and towns expressive of the purposeful desires of an interested community would be much more beautiful and convenient than are many of those that at present disfigure the landscape and obscure the economic issues.

E. I. D.

**DEMOCRACIES OF THE EAST:** by Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. 1923. 15s. net.)

**THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN JAPAN:** by K. Ogata, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Commerce, Tokio; with a preface by Sidney Webb. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. 1923. 12s. 6d. net.)

PROFESSOR MUKERJEE, whose previous writings on the regional treatment of Indian economics and cognate subjects have already made him familiar to students of sociology, has now produced a thought-provoking and informative volume, the main thesis of which is that group organisation ought to be the basis of political control in the future. Recent political developments indicate that the Austinian conception of sovereignty and the theory of the State elaborated by T. H. Green and Bosanquet are more and more losing touch with actualities. "The Nineteenth Century was an era of the expansion of the great European States, which could only have been possible as a result of an all-comprehensive centralisation. This was therefore the age of liberalism, in which the dogma of political sovereignty was elaborated internally and externally." But excessive centralisation now stands condemned. On the one hand, there is an insistent endeavour to transcend national and territorial bounds, and to approach a higher and more universal state ideal—the ideal of the League of Nations—orienting man's political life to larger and wider human values; and by the free delegation of important functions to international organisations, the State suffers a diminution in its unique sovereign character—sovereignty becomes multiple and composite. The internal absolutism of sovereignty is beginning to crumble in its philosophical foundation with the increasing perception of the truth that the rigid formalism of centralisation which, neglectful of the diverse peculiarities of classes and regions, seeks to fit them all into the same Procrustean mould, can produce at best only an artificial and not an organic unity; and the present day schemes for the revitalising of local authorities, endowing them with greater powers to work out their welfare in relation to territorial and occupational peculiarities and genius, will thus make another inroad upon the nineteenth century concept of the Unitary Sovereign State.

THE ancient City States of the Greeks, with their intense political activity, prove the truth of the observation that the social nature of man functions best in small communities. The modern Centralised State, which stands midway between parochialism and universalism, inspires no enthusiasm, and sounds no call to action to the individual. In consequence, "self-government" and "state authority" become more or less antithetical and exclusive. In order to make Democracy once again a vital force, it is necessary to evolve some sort of organisation in the functioning of which the individual will have an active and responsible part, so that he can truthfully say to himself "L'état—c'est moi." Says Mr. Mukerjee: "Humanity all over the world is imprisoned in the bleak institutional orderliness of a mechanical and exploitative type of state. And nothing is more needed to-day than a new principle of social constitution which will once again orient man and his allegiances in natural and elastic groups for a freer expression of his gifts and instincts." This principle, he claims, may be found working in the myriads of little functional and regional groups existing to this day in the East, in spite of some vigorous efforts to displace them by the political machinery of the West.



MR. MUKERJEE describes his book as a study in comparative politics ; but its true bearings are even more comprehensive. The first two parts of the book are devoted to a general examination of the relations between Race and Region in Politics and between Politics and Sociology ; and it is in the final part that he describes for us Eastern Communalism and Democracy. While essentially an elaboration of the now familiar formula Folk—Work—Place, Mukerjee's scheme of political formation offers some obvious analogies to that of the Guild Socialists. Considerations of space make it impossible to notice, except in the broadest outline, the very interesting accounts that he has here given us of oriental democracy at work ; and a longer notice is perhaps the less necessary, since an article on the ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA appearing in an earlier number of this REVIEW (1924, October) gave some account of the vitality of group allegiances in India. In the East, the State has not been universal ; civilisation there has essentially been that of associations and regions and their central cities, with their separate and interdependent life ; and federations of these bodies into larger units have never been along any single line of group orientation, as has been usually supposed. On the other hand, the more numerous the ways of satisfaction in a group, the greater is the tendency to co-operate and interlock with each other in evolving a genuine united social purpose. The village, which represents the real political unit of India, is at once a functional and a territorial group, fulfilling common interests, economic, juridical and religious ; and placed in this harmonious setting, India's communal life will give no room for the development of inter-functional or inter-regional rivalries. " In the East," says Mr. Mukerjee, " the daily lives of the people are within the area of government through the local bodies and village communes which exercise the restraining force of custom, and are a unification of group interests and public opinion in the realisation of a true community life." The checks and balances by which the State effects a compromise between conflicting interests provoke Mr. Mukerjee's scorn ; in the alembic of the village life, according to him, these conflicts would be dissolved ; but in another place he says that the development of communal life " can only arise out of a new balance of the opposite principles of the functional and the territorial organisation of society." Balance and Compromise, then, are still needed in the new polity ; and indeed, will continue to be needed so long as man has to live in communities. Again, in advocating functional groups, one should not forget the lessons of the Indian Caste system. Theoretically, of course, there is nothing in the whole idea of caste which is foreign to active co-operation in the village assembly or the City Guild. But in South India, in particular, caste rivalries are so keen and rancorous that the very future of the country now seems threatened. Mr. Mukerjee's references to Varnashrama Dharma make one suspect that he would like to keep intact the present caste system in India ; however that may be, so long as sections or classes exist whose sense of right is for themselves and not for all the race, the chances for real democracy in India seem very precarious.

ANOTHER question suggests itself : Was Eastern group democracy really so virile as Mr. Mukerjee would have us believe ? And was its disintegration due purely to the encroachments of the Central State ? At p. 225, we have an account of the Nair Polity of South India, which was perhaps the least affected by the insidious advances of State control. Yet that polity to-day is no more than a name, (1) because it had not been sufficiently well organised, and (2) because the changed conditions of to-day have outgrown its primitive attempts at regulation. The Nair Tarawad (which Mr. Mukerjee persistently mis-spells Taraward, though there can be no possible attempt to



connect it etymologically with the English word *ward*) is now completely disintegrated, and the move for this disintegration came—and this is a significant fact—from the Nairs themselves and not from their Government. NEVERTHELESS, there can be no doubt that the resuscitation of the village as a social and political entity will bring the community some supreme advantages; and judging from the new tendencies at work in the East, it may be that the principle of co-operation is destined to become the vivifying factor in oriental rural life. Professor Ogata's volume—which is the first complete account of the Co-operative Movement in Japan—gives some interesting descriptions of some very old forms of economic communism in that country, of which the *Mujin* or *Tanomoshi* shows how, under the impulse of a common object, however transient, such as arranging a pilgrimage or a holiday trip, or for mutual assistance in trade and financing, various individual units join together to form a corporation. When financing is the main object, the *Tanomoshi* organisation is exactly the same as the *chitty* or *Kuri* on the Malabar coast in India. The *Hotokusha* system, essentially indigenous in origin, is also in great favour, and its beneficial results are most apparent in the Shizuoka Prefecture. The spirit of self-government and personal responsibility which the Co-operative Movement fosters is an educational force of great potency. European co-operative methods have now been introduced into the country, and their progress and lines of development have been more or less the same as in India. Credit societies predominate; and on account of the exotic origin of these later co-operative forms, they have not the same hardy vitality of the older indigenous types. Nevertheless, the schooling in self-discipline and co-ordinated effort which these institutions give promises to make them the pivotal point in the rural reconstruction of the immediate future.

P. P. P.

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FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY: by Charles C. Peters. (Macmillan Co., New York. 12s. net.)

ONE of the characteristics of American educational methods is over-reliance in *questionnaires* and tests, and Professor Peters shows no signs of wishing to break away from the habit of constantly checking results, and pulling up the plant to see how the root is growing. In his lengthy volume, written for the use of his students at the Ohio Wesleyan University, he is continually stopping and saying "Is this true? Discuss." At the end of each chapter there are "problems for research and discussion," some showing lack of a sense of humour, e.g., "Pick out some typical boy or girl to study as a 'case.' Secure co-operation by explaining your purpose to the child and his parents . . . ."

READING and labour have not been spared in the production of a book that attempts, mainly by inquiring into details, to "re-adjust the school to the social situation of the present day." The author thinks this can be done "by making the school in every respect a true miniature, not of the society of the past century, but of the society of to-day and to-morrow. We must demand of each element of subject-matter that seeks admission into the curriculum and of each method proposed, its credentials; and we must retain or reject it on the basis of its showing as to just how it can function in preparing for life as it is lived to-day. Conversely we must ask what preparation each element of the life of to-day demands, and must find some effective means of giving such preparation. To carry through these enquiries is the central business of Educational Sociology."

E. M. W.

PRIMITIVE ORDEAL AND MODERN LAW : by H. Goitein. (George Allen & Unwin. 1923. 10s. 6d.)

PRIMITIVE LAW : by E. Sidney Hartland. (Methuen & Co. 1924. 7s. 6d.)

THE first of these two books is a praiseworthy effort to discover the origins of a world-wide phenomenon, or group of phenomena, and should be of real value to the student of sociology. It is uneven in quality. Some passages strike the reader, both by their force and their originality, as of great speculative interest; in others, the writer's mind appears to have flagged, with the result that they are lacking in coherence and conviction. The weakest parts of the book are those which deal with the most technically juristic aspects of the subject—for example, Chapter X., on the relations of Law, Custom, and Morality. The author is so well-read in the literature of his subject, that he can hardly be supposed not to be acquainted with Ihering's monumental work, *ZWECK IM RECHT*, yet we miss the closeness of analysis which distinguishes that masterly treatise, and it is significant that it does not appear in the useful Bibliography given at the end of the book, though Ihering's shorter works are there specifically mentioned. And the informed reader is likely to be scared by the appearance in the book of that venerable heresy which attributes to a certain clause in Magna Charta the introduction, or at least the establishment, of the jury-system in England (p. 44). Most lawyers with any pretensions to historical study now know that the clause in question was intended to stamp out the nascent institution of trial by jury (*per patriam*) and to confirm the ancient feudal trial by "peers" (*per pares*). To its fortunate failure we owe such picturesque anomalies as the trial of Earl Russell by the House of Lords in the 20th century.

WE should judge the author to be more interested in psychology than in law, or even in the history of social development. A similar criticism applies to the somewhat perfunctory Chapter I., in which the writer attempts to orientate an extremely modern type of disciplinary rule and the contents of a typical modern annual statutory output, but fails in his analysis for want of technical equipment.

THE real value of the book, as its title indicates, is the attempt to prove that the fundamental and unconsciously held conception of Law is to be found in the use of the ordeal by primitive communities. In the author's view, the ordeal (a phenomenon to be found, in one form or another, in almost all "simple" societies) is not, primarily, a means of discovering facts, and is, indeed, older than anything which can fairly be called a "trial." Its application is, in many instances, at least as much the voluntary act of the individual who submits to it, as of the community which, with eager eyes, watches its operation. It is quite as much the spontaneous effort of the soul which feels that it has sinned and seeks reconciliation, as the expression of the resentment of the society which feels that it has been injured, and seeks revenge. If this view be sound (and there is much to support it) then clearly the element of force is a younger element in the complex idea of Law than that other element which, in modern days, we call the element of Right. In other words, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die," is not the statement of a command, but a simple statement of fact.

BUT from this statement of fact (or "doom" as our forefathers would have called it) Man strives with the whole force of his being to escape; and the ordeal is his favourite method of attempting it. What caused him to feel what in later days would have been described as a "conviction of sin," and why he should feel that undergoing the ordeal will release him from it,

are deep and obscure questions, which it is our author's main endeavour to answer. Probably the former is closely connected with those fierce outbursts of elemental passion or greed (the ape and tiger which lurk in every human being) which are apt to occur at all times, but more especially when self-control has not been acquired by a long and painful discipline of social sanctions. If this be so, it is not to be wondered at that, in view of their anti-social character, the community should have early taken the ordeal into its own hands, and, through its skilled agents, its magicians and priests, striven to use it as a means of repressing anti-social conduct. Less clear is it why the ordeal should be deemed to heal the disordered spirit, and reunite it with the universe of things seen and unseen. Here it is that the author of this book makes his most valuable contribution to sociology, by his study of primitive cosmogony, the conception of the Earth Mother and the Sea Mother, and the desire of the sinner for reconciliation with them.

IN such a mysterious field of labour, there is, of course, great danger of merely fanciful speculation, and the author has done wisely in keeping a strict hold over his imagination. In considering the origin of the ordeal by water and the practice of tree-burial, for example, though he hints at the possibilities of "race memory," he does not attempt to connect these rights with zoological or biological teachings as to the origin of organic life or the habits of pre-historic Man.

TO the jurist, one of our author's most interesting assertions is that which maintains the view first popularised in this country by Sir Henry Maine, that the "action," i.e., the formal proceeding, is older in legal history than what is now called "substantive law," i.e., a code or body of more or less definite rules to which "procedure" is merely a mechanical though necessary appendage. Though this doctrine is by no means universally accepted, it must be confessed that it gains strength from our author's researches; and it may be that further investigations will solve the problem, just as biology has at last offered an apparently complete solution of the once equally puzzling question: "Which came first, the hen or the egg?"

MR. HARTLAND's book is by no means so ambitious, nor, if he will permit us to say so, quite so interesting as that of Mr. Goitein. It is a handy collection of facts gleaned from the writings of anthropologists, tending to confirm impressions now generally accepted as true of the course of institutional development in comparatively early though by no means primitive societies. It is a book rather for the general reader than the specialist, for the reader interested in anthropology rather than for the reader interested in jurisprudence. As an analytical jurist, Mr. Hartland cannot be trusted. On p. 93 he endeavours, in speaking of the origin of property in land, to contrast the attitude of the individual proprietor (presumably the English fee-simple owner) with that of the tribal or clan group which claims "not so much the land itself" as a right for members of the group to hunt over it. The difference is merely one of degree. Each claimant claims every interest that he values. The "land," i.e., the soil, is the subject of proprietary rights in both cases; but in the later these are more extensive. It is the old fallacious distinction between "corporeal" and "incorporeal" property, founded on a defective analysis.

NOR can Mr. Hartland be trusted as a guide to the actual rules of English Law, much less as its historian. We cannot accept his view (p. 169) that Statutes of Limitation were not known to English legislation before the seventeenth century, even if we use the word "legislation" in its narrowest sense of statutory enactment. What about the Assize of Novel Disseisin

with its severe restriction to *post ultimam transfretationem domini regis in Normanniam*, and the old statutes which took away the "right of entry" when the intruder "died seised." Nevertheless, the survival of the "impermissible right," e.g., in modern criminal law, is suggestive; and Mr. Hartland does well to call the attention of his readers to it. EDWARD JENKS.

WESEN UND FORMEN DER SYMPATHIE: von Max Scheler.  
(Bonn. Verlag von Friedrich Cohn. 1923.)

MOST modern attempts to understand the universe, whether explicitly formulated as a philosophic system, or implicitly contained in the practical attitude towards life of individuals or groups—have been marked by a false simplification. Because the ultimate ground of an intelligible whole must be one, not many, these philosophies have extracted from our experience one fundamental quality of being, or one force, and attempted to state all the phenomena of experience in terms of that one quality or force. Idealist philosophers selected some mental character, e.g., thought or will and declared everything in heaven and earth, a form of thought, for example, or of will. Materialism with greater immediate fruitfulness, since all purely physical realities are, it is overwhelmingly probable, forms of one simple energy, reduced every kind of reality to a complex of material atoms or systems of energy. All these philosophies agreed in attempting an impossible simplicity and clearness by ignoring essential differences of quality in the objects of experience. Hence a chaos of warring systems—all trying to explain the whole in terms of a part, all inadequate to the rich content of reality, all more or less artificial and doctrinaire.

THE phenomenological school which has arisen in contemporary Germany, and of which Pr. Max Scheler is a distinguished representative, refuses to attempt this impossible simplification. It demands that we should accept as ultimate data, the diverse qualities or kinds of reality, e.g., physical force, life, idea, religious value, as immediately given in experience itself, and not do violence to that immediacy by explaining one distinctive and irreducible quality of experience, e.g., life as a complex of qualities of a diverse kind and level, e.g., purely physical energies. No doubt a specific complexity of the lower qualities or kinds of reality is the precondition of the appearance of a higher quality or kind, and similarly experience of the lower quality conditions experience of the higher. For example, life appears only when physical conditions have attained a certain complexity. And our vital functions and experience are largely conditioned by physical factors. But life is a phenomenon of another order than physical energy and irreducible to it.

In the volume before us Pr. Scheler applies this phenomenological method to the study of sympathy and love. Nowhere does he explain his phenomenological method,—but his use of it throughout is perhaps its best explanation. Yet the book can only be read with full profit in connection with the author's other works. For Pr. Scheler treats portions of his subject at considerable length and with copious detail—other portions he passes over so lightly that they are nowhere sufficiently explained. For example, the vital level of reality with its supreme expression, passionate sex love, is treated at considerable length—and adequate treatment is given to the author's view of the highest level of perception, the religious experience of the personal "Act centre." But the level intermediate between these two, the level of the intellectual and æsthetic life with the rational love which belongs to it, is dealt with only *en passant* and the nature of its psychological bearer, the "psychic-ego" is left wholly unexplained, in striking contrast to the clear account given of the "spiritual person centre" above it and the vital soul

below it. But these lacunæ—and even an occasional self-contradiction, e.g., the statement that conscious identification with another (*Einsfühlung*) is confined to the vital sphere, in which all individual lives are modes of one all-life or universal entelechy, side by side with the ascription to Christian mysticism of an identification of the believer with Jesus as a *spiritual personality*—lacunæ and contradictions due to the very wealth of Pr. Scheler's outlook, should not blind us to the extraordinary worth and suggestiveness of the book. As we read it carefully, we are astonished by the wide range of facts harmonised and interpreted by the author's method. Alike the values of religious experience on the one hand, as exemplified in great Christian saints such as Paul and Francis, and the vital values hitherto unduly slighted by the religious man from above, and enslaved with a success far more deadly by the modern utilitarian to the lowest values—the values of physical pleasure and practical usefulness—here find their ordered place in the hierarchical scheme of values on which Pr. Scheler bases his account of sympathy and love. By shewing the distinctive quality of sympathy as the sense of our neighbour's suffering, *precisely as distinct from our own* the author is able to refute views which confuse it with the infection of herd instinct, with sociability, with *Einsfühlung*, or with the mechanical reproduction of the subject's past suffering. And by shewing that love as an irreducible phenomenon discovers in its very movement the ideal value of its object—whether the ideal worth of life in vital love, or an ideal personal value in spiritual love—he proves love no mere form of sympathy or a sublimated form of sensuality but a quality *sui generis*, a unique and irreplaceable means of apprehending reality.

It must be admitted that the account of love labours under obscurities which the reviewer at any rate cannot solve, e.g., as to its creative character. Nor can he accept Pr. Scheler's denial that spiritual love is primarily seated in the will. But no philosopher should expect an uncritical and entire acceptance. A fully adequate and self-consistent philosophy is impossible so long as our knowledge, even of the facts open to our experience, is incomplete. And whatever be the gaps or errors in its formulation the phenomenological principle of ascending value spheres amply proves its fruitfulness in these pages. So many false but widely influential systems are here shewn to be vitiated by a radical defect when examined in the light of this principle. The naturalistic hypotheses of ethical origins, as expounded by Darwin and Spencer, the pessimistic life-denying philosophy of Schopenhauer, the theory of love based by Freud on a false application of the valuable psychological data which he has discovered—are proved in turn to be untrue to the self-evident nature of sympathy and love. Range on range the hierarchy of values is revealed, partly by the difference between sympathy and other and lower forms of social feeling, the subject of the earlier portion of this book, and more fully in the second part by the successive qualities of love as directed to the higher values of experience, beginning with the vital values.

AND in this teaching of Pr. Scheler there is much of the highest importance for sociology. For to every sphere of value there corresponds a form of society whose basis is already laid down in man's psychological capacity of apprehending its values. To physical well-being and its subordinate utility values corresponds the "*Gesellschaft*" (e.g., the Trade Union), to the vital values the family and the country as a racial unit—*das Vaterland*—its political organisation is or should be the state—to the æsthetic-intellectual the culture group, to the religious, the Church. And as none of these value-spheres can be suppressed for the benefit of the others or reduced to a



mere component or compound of the other spheres, neither should any of the corresponding societies be suppressed in favour of any other or reduced to its factor or instrument. And as the due subordination of the lower to the higher values in the hierarchy of values is, as Pr. Scheler has shewn in his larger work, *DER FORMALISMUS IM ETHIK*, the fundamental principle of ethics, the due subordination of the corresponding societies must be the fundamental principle of sociology. For instance, the capitalist society formed by the industrial revolution which has subordinated the vital values, and even very largely the æsthetic-intellectual and religious to utility values is a radically vicious society. But we must be content to leave the further application of Pr. Scheler's principles to the student who is prepared to make a careful study not only of the present work but also of Pr. Scheler's other writings. He will meet with many obscurities and not a few inconsistencies—even on occasion irritating perversities of thought or feeling. But his labour and patience will be amply repaid.

E. INGRAM WATKIN.

POPULATION AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM: by J. Swinburne.  
George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (15s. net.)

MOST middle-aged men are old enough to remember some of the landmarks of the population question and to remember all of them, through indirect contact, from conversations with an older generation. The opening movement of Malthus; the curious complications of the Malthusian position which Darwinism raised;<sup>1</sup> the Neo-Malthusian practices which began in France and extended to England, America and the Colonies from about 1865 onward, and with it the bold appearance of a very unsavoury class of shop probably far more dangerous to national life than the worst kind of Public House; Spencer's discussion of the population question in *PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY* as well as in an earlier essay; Greg's chapter on "Malthus Notwithstanding" in *ENIGMAS OF LIFE*; and to many of us Henry George's discussion of the question in *PROGRESS AND POVERTY*, and the cautious and balanced summing up of pro and con in the last chapter of Laing's *PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE*.

SIDE by side with this, the growth of what is now called the Eugenic and Race movement which Ruskin, Spencer, Maudsley, as well as Galton, all had a preliminary hand in, but which rightly is associated with Galton's name. A movement which now has vigorous exponents all over the world. And the still more curious absence of all serious studies of fecundity and its natural variations the *one* foundation on which all Neo-Malthusian and Eugenic propositions and practices should be built.

THERE have since been interesting additions to the outlook by Mr. Keynes and Mr. Pell, and an important work by Carr Saunders.<sup>2</sup> But the subject still remains one of great complexity and uncertainty, and of extreme difficulty in all efforts at research.

IN France, the United States, and the colonies of the British Empire, very serious problems of depopulation are beginning to arise, and it looks as if in a few years depopulation problems will be more threatening than overpopulation ones, and moreover be associated with practices almost certain to effect prejudicially the moral tone of all peoples resorting to contraceptives.

<sup>1</sup>Darwinism seemed to exalt Malthusianism into a scientific principle, for all life forms except man, as with man according to Huxley, and others the struggle ended.

<sup>2</sup>See Review, p. 153, Vol. XVI., of this REVIEW.



HAS Mr. Swinburne in his new volume been able to throw any fresh light on this subject?

IT is a work very hard to review, it opens with a human skit, in the guise of a conversation among rabbits, in which the one wise rabbit says that poverty comes from the presence of too many rabbits in the world. The second chapter, of only twelve pages, has the very ambitious title of *THE PRINCIPLES OF POPULATION*, but no principles are deduced. The notorious weakness of the attitude which Malthus adopted was that he assumed conditions of fertility and fecundity were always constant except for the alterations of food supply. There is no warrant for such an assumption: on the contrary, from the comparatively sudden developments of diseases which depend on micro-organisms, from unexpected plagues of insects and vermin, such as rats and mice, &c., even allowing for migrations, which are often overflow ones, from other districts, it is probable that both fertility and fecundity vary within very wide ranges. At any rate the conditions of science require that this constancy is proved by evidence, not assumed, before it can be accepted. And whether Spencer's generalisations are or are not accepted, he has at least made out a good *prima facie* case, especially if his views are read with Greg's, for the existence of natural checks to cover population dangers. Spencer claimed that a study of life forms made probable (1) antagonism between development and genesis, and (2) expenditure and genesis, and (3) a coincidence not an antagonism between nutrition and genesis, and he advocated these views for something like forty years of his life and never retracted them. Of these three positions (1) is the most certain, (2) is less certain, and (3) least of all. Ireland, for example, was for many years almost a famine country, and during these years it was extremely prolific, and it is quite uncertain if beyond a certain minimum of food requirements, any excess increases in any way either fertility or fecundity, and it is even claimed that luxurious conditions favour sterility. Principles of Population should at the very least trace out and show relationships of inner physiological to outer circumstantial conditions. Mr. Swinburne not only does not do this, he does not even seem to see the necessity for doing it. After the second chapter in the book is passed it is assumed that the over-population danger is real, and then follow some twenty chatty chapters on Trade Unions, war, women, doles, &c., but no scientific treatment. This is not, however, to assert that the volume is without interest, the book is probably a useful guide to the way most men and women look at a subject they think about but do not study, and a great many points are raised which demand scientific research to solve. The book would probably be useful to those about to commence the study of the subject who would like to talk over the questions with friends, but have no such friends to consult. It will pave the way to more definitely expository writers, but is not in any sense a substitute for them.

THE kind of work the modern student is awaiting would be one written by a modern John Howard. A man who would put his own prejudices on one side and travel over England, France, Germany and the United States collecting class data in reference to parentage and giving us circumstantial genealogies of large and small families and studies of the rise and fall of peopling tendencies. We need a work which would collect *evidence* of all kinds, biological and moral as well as social, so that a comprehensive view of the subject could be obtained. Mr. Swinburne's volume is not of this nature, it is as it were, a series of fireside chats between host and guest, and the guest is likely to go away interested even though he often strongly disagrees with his host.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.

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